

The Commons

MAY, 1905

GRAHAM TAYLOR, Editor

Edwin Balmer
Graham Romeyn Taylor } Assistant Editors

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The Commons

Number 5—Vol. X

Tenth Year

Chicago, May, 1905

With The Editor

Turn of the Crisis in the Chicago Strike

The extraordinary and sudden turn of affairs in Chicago's dangerous teamster's strike, accounts for the absence of comment upon the acute situation, as well as the delay in the appearance of this issue of *THE COMMONS*. The Garment Workers' strike produced the occasion out of which the graver struggle suddenly arose. The employers' and employes' statements of their long strife were secured not only to report it from the inside, but also to furnish the back ground for understanding the teamsters' strike. For it ostensibly started with the walk-out of Montgomery Ward's drivers, who made the grievance in the tailoring department of that house their own. The sympathetic strike rapidly spread until it tied up nearly all the wholesale supply houses, department stores, express companies, and some of the coal deliveries. All this we editorially and critically reported for this number of *THE COMMONS*. Just as we were ready to go to press the mayor of Chicago appointed the editor of *THE COMMONS* chairman of a

commission to investigate the strike and to report through him to the city the causes of the perilous disturbances of the peace.

It would be manifestly improper under these circumstances to offer any comment on the extremely delicate and complicated situation, which might in any way prejudice the findings of the official inquiry. We, therefore, held up the press work, withdrew all reference to the strike, and substituted for it the proclamation of the mayor.

We are glad to be able to add the fact, however, that repeated visits to the center of disturbance shows the situation to be far less acute and to be held well in hand by the municipal authorities, with little or no warrant, as we go to press, for the demand from certain quarters upon the governor for the militia. The very fact that the mayor has constituted the commission representing only the public, open on equal terms to all involved in the issue, tends to quiet the excitement over suspected repression of facts and the vehemence of charges and counter-charges, which now are put to the proof.

In our next number may be expected a full discussion of the whole portentous disturbance, which has been so characteristic of the American temperament exaggerated by Chicago's intensity. Of the present situation the proclamation of Mayor Dunne speaks for itself.

PROCLAMATION APPOINTING STRIKE
COMMISSION.

To the citizens of Chicago: In the present crisis arising out of conflict between the Teamsters' Union and the employers it would seem that to avert further trouble and bitterness the public should have full knowledge of conditions precedent and existing.

Charges have been freely made that certain members of the Teamsters' Union in positions of authority have been guilty of blackmailing employers and breaking contracts. If these charges are proven the guilty men should be held up to the opprobrium of their fellows whom they have betrayed and the public to whom they are a menace and should be eliminated from the situation.

On the other hand it is charged that in time of peril and excitement certain officials of the Employers' Association are seeking to spread the strike by demanding such action of employers beyond contract relations as is bound at such a time to be provocative of passion. If this be proven it may be stated that it is hard to preserve the peace when war is being sought for.

If chosen representatives of either or both parties in contest are guilty as charged, the party or parties thus guilty of fomenting discord should no longer be permitted to plot against the peace and the general welfare of Chicago.

I have named a commission to inves-

tigate the facts in the dispute, and shall make public the findings. The gentlemen composing the commission are Graham Taylor, T. K. Webster, and William C. Boyden.

In the interest of right judgment, only to be obtained through knowledge of such facts, I request all parties aggrieved to report to this commission such facts as are capable of proof.

As executive of this city, upon whom rests the heavy responsibility of preserving the peace, I request that both employers and employees be temperate and careful in their dealings, the one with the other; and again I warn those who would obstruct traffic in the public streets or be guilty of violence, or threats of violence, that I shall use to the utmost all the force available or obtainable that may be needed to maintain the peace that I am sworn to and shall preserve.

EDWARD F. DUNNE,
Mayor of Chicago.

**Loyalty of the Working People
to Law**

It is timely to raise the question: Who really are the lawbreakers among us? It is, moreover, in order first of all to acquit whole masses of our people of any disloyalty to law, who are too often slanderously accused of it by those who do not know them.

Ten years of residence and intimate acquaintance in one of the most crowded and cosmopolitan working people's sections of Chicago should give a man competence as a witness to the facts. Let the writer, then, attest the law-abiding spirit and conduct of this whole industrial community. The streets are as safe and peaceful by night and by day as in any other part of the city, and more so than where the carcass gathers

the eagles. The respect for law and ready obedience to it are perhaps even more marked, at least in the manners of the foreign born, than among the natives. The lawbreakers are exceptional enough to be very conspicuous. The old-time "gang" politicians of whose domination we are happily rid used to be the worst examples, especially at elections. But now, as a close observer of the registration and polling places, and a challenger at one of them, the writer can affirm the scrupulous regard for the election laws and the strict obedience to its provisions throughout the 17th ward. No larger proportion of saloonkeepers violate the law here than elsewhere. The 1 o'clock closing ordinance is very generally observed. Sunday closing has never been observed here or elsewhere in the city, but it is not more flagrantly disregarded here than anywhere else. Some of the better class of saloonkeepers have been foremost in securing police suppression of disorderly houses. Violence, either in speech or by overt act, nowhere receives quicker condemnation or less support than here at the heart of the manual wageworking population.

It is an outrageous slander, therefore, upon the best of good citizens, in any way to identify the men, women and children of these great family neighborhoods with any lawbreaking spirit whatsoever. I have yet to hear in all these years from the rank and file of the great army of people among whom we live summer and winter any justification of the illegal conduct of strikes, much less of the violence to which they have led on either side.

This wonderfully prevalent loyalty to law is the more remarkable on account of some things which have been long and badly enough at work to undermine

it. The low atmosphere and practices to which some of the justice courts and even the police courts have degraded themselves; the venal oppression of ruffian constables; the occasional police injustice, cruelty and corruption which asperse the general good conduct of the great majority of the force—all these dark shadows are unfortunately blacker upon the courts nearest to the most of the people. They can scarcely help taking their impressions of what law is from those who thus daily represent and execute it before their very eyes.

Nothing, therefore, can do more to sustain the pathetic loyalty to law in the face of such discouragements or to restore it among those who have wavered on this account than the establishment of the new municipal courts, which awaits only the approval of the governor and the people. Their dignity as courts of record, the provision of salaries adequate to command judges and court officers of high character and ability, the six-hour court day, should soon be supplemented by far more respectable police stations, cells and court-rooms than those which now in almost every precinct degrade the law and disgrace the city.

The bold defiance or evasion of law in high, and therefore more conspicuous, places is a far more insidious and infectious source of practical anarchism than exists anywhere else. Theoretical anarchists seem to have evaporated within the last two or three years, so that they are fewer in numbers and feebler in influence than ever before since they were known to exist at all in the midst of us. Far more dangerous than those against whose violence we rightfully declaim and should unite to suppress are they who violate on a national scale the interstate-commerce law

in conducting their railway enterprises; who openly thwart the United States department of justice in its inquiry into the alleged violation of law in the packing trade; who infest our state and city legislatures with their parasite lobbyists to bribe the representatives of the people to exploit them; who by any form of special legislation make private gain at public expense—these are the real anarchists most to be feared, ostracized and cast out as the traitors to the commonwealth they actually are. Their lawless depredations at one end of the scale do not extenuate, but nevertheless encourage and make possible, the violence at the other end.

If for any, law is for all. Of nothing so much does Chicago stand in need as a united stand of its overwhelming majorities of law-abiding citizens, irrespective of class or condition, for the steady, sane, impartial maintenance of common law. Never more was it to the interests of labor to take this open stand. Never less could employing capital afford to uphold with one hand what they would overthrow with the other. Above class interests—fast degenerating, among the opposing forces of officials at least, into class hatred—must the rank and file behind them both or connected with neither join heart and hand to avert as needless, wasteful and yet serious a crisis as has ever threatened the peace and prosperity of the whole city.

Opening of the Municipal Ownership Administration

Mayor Dunne of Chicago quickly settled down to the stern realities of his difficult administration after New York City had given him its extraordinarily enthusiastic send-off. His return from that ovation and his en-

trance with simplest ceremony, upon his executive duties were signalized by portents both ominous and auspicious. From the Lake to the Railway stations the menacing teamsters strike laid siege to the busiest section of the city. Notwithstanding this embarrassing embargo upon his first days in office the Mayor resolutely grappled with the preliminaries of his municipal ownership policy. First of all he cabled to Glasgow for the help of its department of municipal tramways and received immediate assurance that its manager would come to Chicago forthwith. He appointed Mr. Clarence S. Darrow as Special traction counsel to the city. He secured the appointment of the principal municipal ownership aldermen as the majority of the local transportation committee, which was nominated in accordance with the policy of the non-partisan organization of the city council. He instituted an investigation by city employes of the over-crowding and unsanitary condition of the street cars. His first appointment to his cabinet was that of Joseph Medill Patterson, son of the editor of The Chicago Tribune, who withdrew from its editorial staff to advocate municipal ownership and the election of Judge Dunne. Though a very young man for the responsible and exacting commissionership of public works, in character and caliber he will add both prestige and strength to the Mayor's cabinet, the further appointments to which will stand in comparison or contrast to this first one. So far there is almost no criticism, but a very general disposition, especially upon the part of the friends of municipal ownership irrespective of campaign differences, to co-operate with the Mayor in every well considered effort to execute the pronounced will of the people.

to own the street railways, and in giving the city the higher departmental administrative efficiency which it sorely needs. The Mayor has also taken aggressive initiative in defense of public interests by leading an able committee appointed by himself to secure from the State legislature the city's right to regulate the price of gas, but failed to secure an enabling act permitting municipal ownership of gas works or even the sale of surplus electricity by the city's own electrical plant.

Public Charitable Institutions Under Civil Service

The Illinois legislature saved itself from total failure to keep the civil service pledges of both parties by one act. In passing it the members did nothing to extenuate the breaking of their promises. Nevertheless the bill extending the merit system of appointments to the subordinate employees of the state charitable institutions is a beginning with far reaching possibilites. Of course it should have included most if not all administrative officers, and should have applied to the prisons, reformatories and factory inspectors. But although passed almost unanimously, without debate and evidently under orders, immediately after the main civil service measure was overwhelmingly defeated, it may be found more far reaching than it was intended to be.

Upon its passage an appropriation of \$7,500 to the State University was passed by the Senate, but defeated by the House to enable it to furnish special training to the employees of all state institutions. It was proposed to do so first of all and principally by placing extension centers at hospitals, prisons and reformatories. It was

hoped also that some of the employees might be sent up to the University itself for brief periods of instruction, just as teachers are with their institutes. It is unfortunate that the University must defer this work with which it might have started its much needed department of social science in offering such a concrete solution of the imperative needs presented by the public institutions. Their service might thus be raised to the rank of a profession, just as that of the trained nurses has been dignified by its discipline, fellowship and *esprit de corps*.

Another legislative gain has been scored by Chicago in having the probation officers of its Juvenile Court placed under the Civil Service law and salaried by the County Commissioners. The appointments from the eligible lists are fortunately placed in the hands of the judge of the Juvenile Court.

Private Graft Legislation

Graft in the private affairs of business does not show itself to the public gaze quite as conspicuously as does the same offense in the more corrupt of our legislative bodies. But it exists with prevalence as great or greater. Lincoln Steffens has repeatedly impressed it upon us that the graft of politics can be traced straight back to its invariable source, the private office of the corporation that needs favors.

It is the people's right to enquire into and know about their own affairs, and their increasing interest in them, that brings political corruption into the light of day. Purely business graft remains largely hidden from the public view. Yet the finger of scorn has always been pointed with all the self righteousness of the most practical hypocrisy by the

commercial thieves at the people's representatives who happen to have erred largely at the behest of the former respectable pillars of the commonwealth.

The people are now beginning to extend their bribery statutes beyond the sphere of public affairs. The law enacted in New York state a year ago, and which was described in the columns of *THE COMMONS* by District Attorney Jerome, was only the entering wedge. As will be remembered, it makes it a crime for anyone to give a labor representative anything of value to influence his action in calling strikes or in sending men back to work when they are out on strike.

Mr. Jerome prophetically said in his article, "Everyone familiar with the conduct of business at the present time must have had brought to his attention the great extent to which this bribery of persons acting as agents and in representative capacity goes on, not only in the labor world, but in all classes of business. That the purchasing agents for various large concerns receive presents and considerable sums of money before business can be satisfactorily done with such concerns is a matter of every day observation, and it may well be that later on, should the Prince bill become a law, it will be found desirable to extend its principle not only to matters of affecting organized labor, but to all cases in which people act as agents for others or in a representative capacity."

No sooner had the Prince bill become a law in the last days of the session than Massachusetts went on record with a law along the lines which Mr. Jerome said might be expected. It provides that anyone who gives or offers to an agent, employe or servant any gift or gratuity with the intent to influence his

action in relation to employer, or any agent, or employe, or servant who receives a gift under an agreement or with an understanding that he shall act in any particular manner in relation to his employer's business, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment for not more than one year.

New York state itself is now bearing out the prognostication of Mr. Jerome and Governor Higgins has signed a bill with provisions that are practically the same as those of the Massachusetts statute.

But perhaps the farthest reaching statute so far enacted is that which has just received Governor La Follette's signature in Wisconsin. Its language is the same as those of Massachusetts and New York, even to prescribing the same penalties for violation, but it specifies in greater detail the things to which the law shall apply. The prominence given to the ban it places upon "tipping" of porters, waiters, bootblacks, and other similar employes, by the daily press, which seems frequently to obscure the more important things by dwelling at length and facetiously upon the less important, provided the latter are novel and susceptible of jocular treatment—has left the public in ignorance of the fact that the Wisconsin law is primarily aimed at the larger game of the sleek commercial grafters.

The wave of legislation along this direction that is sweeping the country is simply another evidence of what the people will do when publicity is given widely to the insidious workings of genteel "fixing" and "making it all right" with the private citizen who acts in a fiduciary relationship—an evil that is quite as dangerous if not as palpable as the grosser forms of stultifying corruption.

A Neighborhood Center Provided by the Municipality

By Henry G. Foreman

President of the South Park Board, Chicago

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article, which is slightly abbreviated from the speech of Mr. Foreman at Hamilton Park Neighborhood Center, April 7th, like the building it dedicated, is an excellent expression of the new service which is enlisting Park Commissioners not only in Chicago but elsewhere. As Mr. Foreman says, grass and trees, lakes and flowers, and shelters from the sun and rain, while necessary in parks, do not make such places completely useful to the people for whom they are created and maintained. The new parks and buildings in the South Division (one of which we illustrate below) are physical embodiments of the idea that the "perfect park should provide a maximum of service throughout the year. They are pioneers of their kind; models approved and praised by the foremost students of humanity—of the humanity which is packed in the congested areas of great cities and is deteriorating in body, mind and soul."

Man has learned at fearful cost that his artificial mode of existence in cities is harmful to human life. One by one he has devised means of lowering the death rate caused by crowding people into narrow spaces. He has built systems of sewerage. He has purified

came about naturally enough that man, suffering from city congestion, made parks in cities that he might regain, in part, the natural life environment that God gave him.

Now this artificial city life soon demonstrated more clearly, than country



Hamilton Park Neighborhood Center, Chicago

drinking water. He has discovered preventives for the diseases that come from human herding. He has developed countless inventions to naturalize, as far as possible, the artificial conditions of city life. But *ever* in man's heart is a love for the country, for pure air, for the meadow and the forest. And it

life had shown, that all men are not created equal. Those who had greater gifts soon rose above those less endowed. The condition of individual independence among the early races was lost in the relation of landlord and tenant, of the learned and the client, of employer and employee. Real property

naturally gravitated into the hands of the *very few*. Thus came about the condition of dependence of the masses. This condition obtains today in Chicago in a more turbulent and more intensely prophetic form than in any other city of the world.

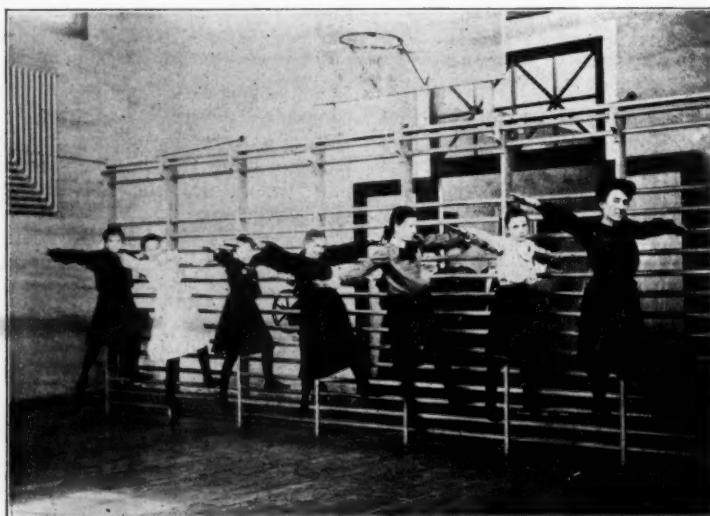
Now let us look into this condition and apply our *new* park service as an important step in the remedy of it, for it is a dangerous condition and will not be tolerated forever.

The real estate in Chicago is owned

pays taxes. Every person who finds amusement in a theatre or who buys a book pays taxes.

The tax-paying public is an endless chain and every wage earner is a link in it. The strength of all is the strength of the weakest. The welfare of the weakest is the corporate welfare of the entire chain.

A great deal is done for the one-tenth of our population—the real estate owners. Its voice is heard on all occasions. It often has a dominant voice



A Corner of the Girls' Gymnasium

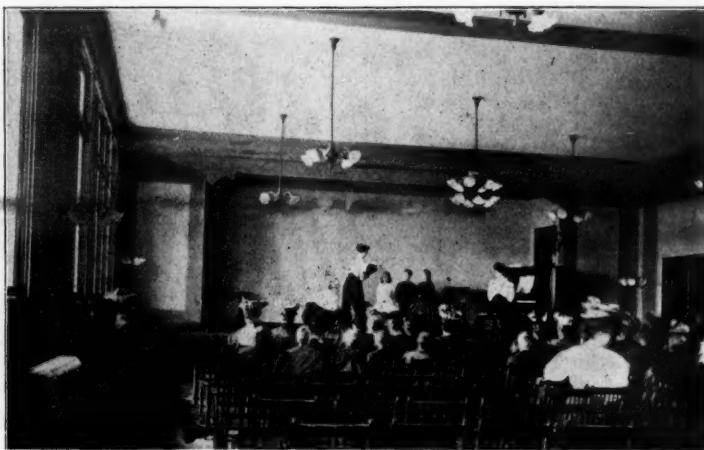
by not to exceed 250,000 persons. Of this number about one-quarter resides elsewhere. More than 1,800,000 of the people living in Chicago are without ownership in its real estate. They are not direct contributors to the largest part of our taxes. By superficial thinkers these 1,800,000 persons are held to be non-taxpayers, because they do not pay direct taxes. *This idea is false.* The indirect taxes paid by the 1,800,000 go to make up the great bulk of direct taxes paid by real estate owners. *Every man and woman who pays house rent or flat rent or store rent pays taxes. Every man and woman who buys clothes, groceries, coal, meat and milk*

in shaping the policies and affairs of this city. But what of the nine-tenths, the great unheard population, the indirect tax-payers? It is the duty of the public official to be mindful of them. He is as much their official as he is the official of the one-tenth. In fact, the unheard nine-tenths have more need of official attention and assistance than the one-tenth. They would like to be real estate owners. They are not, many of them, from causes they could not shape or prevent. It is a misfortune that they are poor, *so far as private property ownership goes*, but it is no reflection upon them. As I said a moment ago, they are indirect tax payers. They

certainly are *part owners in public property*. They are sharers in public service, but that service has not been developed to meet their needs or their deserts.

The neighborhood center building provided by the South Park Commissioners is designed to give the people one of their needs—an *amplified and continuous park service*. It is designed to benefit the nine-tenths and through them the entire public. I say the entire public, because the problem which the public neighborhood center will try to solve is not limited to the South Park district. *It is a problem of our whole city.*

need, spurn charity, even under the more refined title of private philanthropy. Private philanthropy, generally speaking, is spasmodic. It comes because of an uprising, because of hard times, because the conscience of some man of means is pricked when he realizes that his riches are piled up by the labor of many who are struggling for the necessities of life. Private philanthropy stops when the uprising ends, when hard times are over, when the man of means finds his conscience hardened or his fortune gone—gone not because of the philanthropic expenditures, but from various causes that dissipate fortunes.



The Assembly Hall for Neighborhood Gatherings

The problem of the masses is one with which park commissioners are familiar. We of the south parks, in visiting congested neighborhoods to select recreation sites, became intimately acquainted with the lives and the ideas of the masses. Above all we made it our business to learn *their needs*. The neighborhood center building was the result.

Because of our investigations, as public officials, we feel competent to voice the ideas and the needs of the masses.

First of all these 1,800,000 people, except the poorest of them when in great

The indirect tax payer feels that the Y. M. C. A. gymnasiums and baths and like facilities provided by private philanthropy should be established by the local government and maintained by the local government as permanent institutions. Once established, such institutions are *his*. You may call them neighborhood centers or club houses for the masses, or what you will. He and his family will use them freely without experiencing the repellent sensation of accepting charity or private philanthropy.

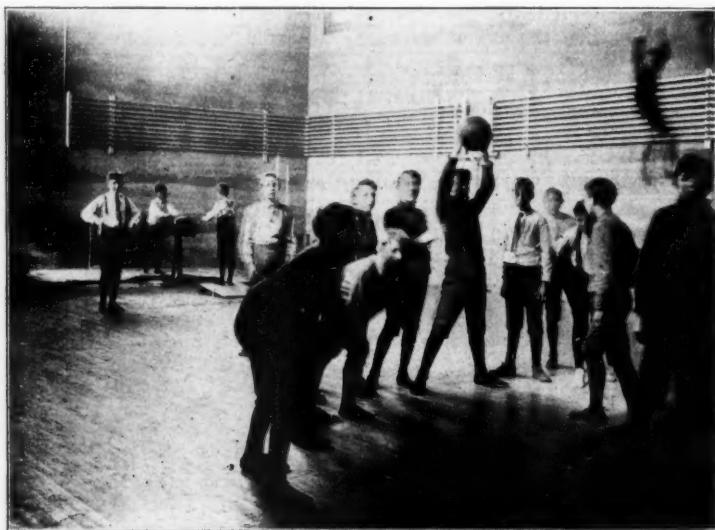
This Neighborhood Center is such an institution. It was erected and will be

maintained by the South Park Commissioners out of the people's money. It is the people's building.

The benefits of the neighborhood centers are apparent. Here is an assembly hall for neighborhood meetings and for any good neighborhood purpose, except for religious or political meetings. The South Park Commissioners believe this hall will be the means of focusing and building up neighborhood patriotism. You also can hold theatricals and have lectures

at low prices. This milk is sterilized and modified. It will prove a great blessing to infants and infirm persons. If you were to visit the swimming pools in our other new parks on a hot day, you would wish you had not asked us to build you a park here without one. I shall be surprised if before many months you are not knocking at our door and urging us to build you a swimming pool for your boys and girls.

Here you have, free of cost, means of acquiring and keeping physical



The Boys' Gymnasium

here, thus affording mental refreshment and mental development.

You will find here club rooms for small organizations of the neighborhood.

As physical health is necessary to happiness and progress the South Park Commissioners have provided well equipped gymnasiums for men and boys and for women and girls. An instructor will teach you how to get the maximum benefit out of this apparatus. There are lockers and shower baths too.

You have a refectory where you can buy wholesome foods, including milk,

health and means of intellectual and social delight, *not merely during the summer months or four months in the year, but every month, every week and every day and every evening in the year—365 days in the year, except leap year, when we will give you an extra day.*

Most of our neighborhood centers are in less favored sections of Chicago than this. If you were to go into the congested districts and study conditions there, you would realize more clearly than you can here the *emphatic need of such facilities in a great city.* Something must be done—we are trying to do something now to improve our cit-

izenship, to repress conditions that develop drunkenness and insanity and crime, to open through education and recreation the way to greater success in life.

Investigation in congested areas shows the necessity of raising the standard of living. There is need of humanizing these communities of mixed people. They must become more rational in their thinking and acting to make them good and safe citizens. If we neglect to give the children of the immigrant a chance for pleasures that build character, if we leave them to the social life of the street corner and to pleasures that injure them, then we are building a future for ourselves that *will bring misfortune to the city as a whole*. No district of the city can live to itself. No individual can live to himself alone.

Our neglected communities supply the men and boys for the lodging house, the County jail, the Bridewell, and the Hospital for the Insane and the Poor House. These districts develop disrespect for law, but muscle exercised in a gymnasium or in a swimming pool is not apt to be used to bully fellow-men or lead to struggles against law and

order. Club organization leads to conservatism. It is the individual left to himself and his real or fancied grievances who becomes the dangerous man. Men who meet together for good purposes modify each other's views.

The neighborhood center building in parks is a new idea. It is in its infancy. *It must be developed for the benefit of the people, for the benefit of the entire city*. Some persons who never have visited these buildings in the parks look upon them as a *luxury*. They look upon police stations and hospitals for the insane as *necessities*. They are right as to the police stations and hospitals for the insane, under conditions existing today. But I believe that the neighborhood center building in the park, by *its proved service*, will cause these skeptics to realize that prevention of drunkenness and immorality, which cause crime and madness, is less expensive than the cost of jails and asylums.

I hope the day will come when the public luxury from a point of cost, will be the prison and the asylum. I hope the day will come when the club house for the people will replace the policeman's club.

Life's Common Way

By Clarice W. Riley

I HAVE wandered forth to-day
On life's mighty common way.
Not a note of Triumph's song
Reached me as I walked along;
Not a stone my vision met
To proclaim how men forget.
Only Love her radiance flings
In the vale of common things.

But I saw—oh, wondrous sight!—
Gold rejected for the Right,
And a sweet, brave smile remain
On the pallid lips of Pain
That its fear might hidden be,
Lest the eye of Love should see.
All this have I seen to-day
Walking in life's common way.

As this common way I trod
I beheld the face of God.
Yea, in simple human guise—
In the patient, hopeful eyes—
In the face with purpose set—
In the eyes grown dim and wet;
And I bared my head to-day
In life's common, royal way.

Thus my heritage I trace
In the upturned human face.
Through its sorrow and its sin
Shine its kingly origin,
And the sun of love beams out
Through the mists of wrong and doubt.
Knowing this my glad heart sings
In the vale of common things.

—From the *Independent*.

Quartette of a Scandinavian Garment Workers Union



The Linnaea Quartette of a Special Order Clothing Makers' Union, Chicago

This local of the United Garment Workers is composed almost entirely of Scandinavian women. Their quartette, dressed in quaint old Swedish costumes obtained from the old country for this especial purpose, is very popular with lovers of folk songs and among the large Scandinavian population of Chicago. We print below the song of the Special Order Clothing Makers' Union.

A Song of Union

Small seeds lay cradled 'neath a clod,
And made sad murmuring:
"How can we lift this heavy load,
That hides us from the Spring?"
Then one made answer to the rest,
Her voice rang loud and clear:
"Though one be weak, yet all are strong;
Then courage, sisters dear;
A world of sunshine waits for us,
Why should we linger here?"

All together, all together if we toil,
Sure is the victory;
For 'tis union, 'tis union,
That makes us strong and free.

A woman drove the busy wheel,
And dreamed that years had flown,
Till the humblest worker on God's earth
Had come unto his own.

And she dreamed a dream of the little seeds,
That lifted towards the sun
The heavy clod that weighed them down,—
A load too great for one,
And she said, "I'll tell my sisters
What the little seeds have done."

A child bent o'er unchildish toil,
And wept unchildish tears,
As she dreamed of naught but slavery,
Through the long, long coming years.
But there came a day when her wheel stood
still,
For her childlike right was won—
A teacher's care and a school-room fair,
Where happy tasks are done;
For the will of the many had opened the
door
That was closed to the prayer of one.

MARGARET HOBLITT.

A Labor Tragedy

By Margaret Hoblitt

EDITOR'S NOTE: The industrial deadlock in which Chicago finds itself between the strike of 3500 teamsters and the determined stand taken by the concerns affected, the large department stores, wholesale clothiers, supply houses, express companies and some of the coal companies, confronts the city with an emergency of the utmost gravity. In the midst of the desperate struggle, with its intense excitement and even daily crises, the initial controversy, a phase of which gave rise to the present conflict, is likely to be lost sight of.

This article describes the rise of the Special Order Clothing Makers' Union of Chicago, their absorption by the United Garment Workers' organization, and the issues upon which they have now been on strike for twenty-one weeks. An authorized statement of the employers' version of the facts follows the article.

For the latest and most hopeful turn in the acute situation we direct attention to the first editorial.

Seven years ago there were in Chicago some thousands of men and women engaged in the making of "special order" garments for men. As the trade was a comparatively new one, and for the most part confined to Chicago, it had in earlier days escaped serious competition, and its workers had maintained conditions at least approximating those which their skilled labor deserved. But following the general depression of '93, they found that the "factory system" with its minute subdivision of work, was hard upon them. Cheap labor, the child worker, cut after cut in wages, all these were the inevitable results. There was only one means of protection, and that lay in organization.

Special order work is that which gives the customer the privilege of selecting materials and giving his measurement for the garments which he orders, while it does not offer the opportunity for careful fitting. It is thus a grade between the hand-me-down of the clothing store and the high priced work of the custom tailor. The custom or journeymen tailors and the makers of ready made garments were already organized, but each of the national bodies turned a deaf ear to the appeal of the special order workers. The journeymen tailors were afraid of lowering their standard, the United Garment Workers found in New York and the East an ample field for their ambition. The special order workers, nothing daunted, proceeded with an independent organization which achieved quick result.

It was perhaps because the "pants workers" were in most imminent

danger that they were foremost in the work of unionizing their trade. The coatmakers were already hopelessly committed to the factory system, the vest-makers, on account of the uniformly high price demanded by their work, were comparatively safe. But the machine-work on a pair of trousers offered many opportunities for cheap labor, which the employer was quick to use and the workers determined to forestall.

In the autumn of 1899 the young organization of three locals was prepared to adopt a union label, and to draw up a closed shop contract which went into effect on March 1 of the following year. This contract, among other provisions, limited to ten hours the working day which in some cases had extended to eighteen, forbade work on holidays, and established a wage scale which in some instances gave an increase of as much as 80 per cent, without however raising wages to their original standard. During the next year the vest-makers fell into line, organizing not as the pants-makers had done, according to the division of their trade, but into one great local. The hand-finishing in the pants shops were formed into two women's locals, one Italian and one Swedish, and obtained an increase from 9c a pair to 15.

STRUGGLE AGAINST SWEAT SHOP CONDITIONS.

There were a few pants shops which had already succumbed to the "section system" or minute subdivision of work, among the machine operators. This was tolerated until it was found that

the wage-scale could not be enforced where the opportunities for cheap labor were so alluring. With the signing of their second contract therefore the pants operators demanded that their method of work be made uniform, and that one worker be allowed to do all the machine stitching on each garment that passed through her hands. A year later, in order still further to safeguard their position, they inserted in their contract a clause whose success astonished even its ardent champions, and which reads as follows:—"No operator or apprentice under 16 years of age shall be allowed to operate a machine in said employer's shop."

During these two years of recognized organization constant pressure had also been brought to bear upon the employers with regard to general working conditions. The substitution of electric motor for the old foot-power machine, better lighting, better plumbing, the installation of janitor service which did away with "sitting in rags up to our knees," all went to show that instead of a steady drift towards sweatshop conditions, there was now constant progress towards right conditions. The home finishing which in some instances has made union label and its pledge of sanitary conditions a thing of derision, was in these shops more and more controlled.

SKILLED WORKERS HELP UNSKILLED.

It is evident from this hurried summary that wages and hours were not the only questions, nor indeed the most important ones, to the special order workers. But of more interest and significance even than their achievement is the spirit in which it was accomplished. It is a common story in the organization of a trade which includes varying grades of skill that the more skilled and better paid workers—those in a word who are least in need of help—better their own conditions in utter disregard or even at the actual expense of the most helpless and the most needy.

In this case the first thought of the skilled workers, after the natural first impulse of self-protection, was that the

lowest paid must have their generous share of the benefit of organization. Here is something more than mere democracy, it is the spirit of him who loves his brother as himself. The fight against section work and child-labor had of course its selfish side, involving as it did the question of wages. But as a matter of fact this phase of the question seems to have been entirely subordinated in the minds of the people themselves.

The right of childhood to its lessons and its play, and to normal, healthy development, the right of the worker to work which offers some small opportunity for skill, and for the pride and satisfaction that come from skill achieved and maintained, the deadened effect of monotonous toil—these were the arguments to which they listened, and to whose appeal they responded. They did not know that they were Ruskinian, but their feeling was none the less genuine and fine.

WOMEN WON OUT.

And let it not be overlooked that I am speaking now particularly of the women. It was women—the skilled operators—who in their second contract resigned any attempt at an increase in wages and persuaded the men to follow their example, in order that the hand finishers might receive one cent more per garment. It was women who drove the section work from the few shops in which it had gained a footing, and who in the face of derision enacted and enforced child-labor legislation in advance even of the laws upon our statute books today.

The success of these two years had been obtained, not without effect, but almost without what could be called a struggle. But now there arose that unfortunate phenomenon of the labor world known as the "jurisdiction fight." Contrary to precedent, the special order cutters, the best paid and presumably the most skilled workers in their trade, were the last to organize. For reasons best known to themselves they applied for affiliation to the United Garment Workers, the union of "ready-made"

workers before mentioned. This body thought better of its attitude of two years before and the cutters were admitted. What followed is easily foreseen. The United Garment Workers discovered that the interest of all would be best conserved if two trades so nearly allied were represented by one national body.

FIGHT FOR TRADE AUTONOMY WITHIN UNIONISM.

The charter for which the Special Order Clothing Workers applied to the

sive—probably for different reasons. In October, 1902, a truce was patched up, in which the two unions concerned, the employers and the Chicago Federation agreed to be bound by the decision of the American Federation of Labor. When that body met in New Orleans in November representatives of the Chicago merchants were promptly on hand, and the thousands of dollars they expected to save by the amalgamation of the two unions was a matter of common report.

The Special Order Charter was of



Miss Ellen Lindstrom

Organizer and leader of two Special Order Clothing Makers' Local Unions, one of which has a membership of 600 Scandinavian women.

American Federation was obtained with difficulty, and was destined to be short lived. The United Garment Workers began a vigorous organizing crusade among the non-union shops of Chicago and granted charters to locals into which makers of ready-made and special order clothing were admitted on the same footing. The special order workers and the merchants were apprehen-

course revoked, but the decision was defied by the people most vitally interested in it. The employers in their righteous indignation against a union which dared to question the justice of an American Federation decree forgot for once the sacredness of a contract, and locked out the Special Order Clothing Makers until such time as they should see fit to change their name and resign, as they

then believed, all that their four years of effort had gained. There was a struggle of six weeks, which ended only when the Special Order Workers had apparently turned defeat into victory by wresting from the union exponent of benevolent assimilation such terms as bade fair to protect the rights of the assimilated body. The special order locals were to retain jurisdiction on special order work, wages and working conditions were to be strictly maintained, and "section work" was to be abolished. This last item referred, at the time no one questioned, to the work of the machine operators in pants and vest shops.

A SECESSION.

The prospect for cheap labor looked doubtful. The "Old Special Order" were, however, not to be too hasty about forcing their method of work upon the shops which had been organized before the lockout. These shops were accordingly allowed to work without a wage scale, and for prices much below the union scale, in the hope that they might be conciliated. During the summer following the lockout the employers signified in writing their readiness to comply with the union demand for the "individual system" in all special order pants and vest shops. But on Oct. 1, 1903, the date set for the final adjustment of the matter, the United Garment Workers found themselves confronted with an injunction forbidding them to interfere either as individuals or as a body with the method of work employed by the members of two local unions known as 219 and 220.

The union and the employers were bound hand and foot by the terms of this injunction—as for the latter, it was not observed that they chafed against their chains! The two offending locals were promptly expelled by the National executive officers in New York, and then there was seen the curious anomaly of a labor union forced by the court to furnish its union label to non-union workers, and to admit to a seat and a voice in its local council delegates who

were in open defiance of its decrees. There were wise lawyers who said that such an injunction could not stand, but it has not yet been dissolved.

It should have been noticed before that the garments cut in the special order houses are in large part let out to contractors to be made. The special order locals have agreements with the Wholesale Tailors' Association providing that none of their work shall be sent to non-union shops. These agreements were of course violated when the Wholesale Tailors, less zealous for the upholding of union authority than they had been in the case of the decision of the American Federation, continued to give work to locals 219 and 220 after their expulsion. The shops employing members of these locals were greatly enlarged, while the original special order workers wondered at the lack of work and were comforted with the statement that it was "a poor season". "Poor season, indeed!" said one shrewd little operator. "The truth is that we have the wage scale and the other people have the work!"

NON-UNIONISTS FAVORED.

In the meantime a wave of anti-unionism was sweeping the country, and in one after another of the eastern cities the garment workers felt its effect. In the summer of 1904 the cutters of ready-made clothing struck against the open shop, and went back to find out that for them at least the open shop means absolutely a non-union shop: i. e., one into which a man with a union card can not gain admittance. In the special order line there were increasing signs of trouble brewing. Work was continually slack in the union shops, while non-union shops grew in members and in size, and in spite of union protest were well supplied with work. Non-union workers were employed in union shops, and by one method or another were kept out of the union. Sometimes the business agent was urged to "give them time to learn", sometimes flatly forbidden to see them—another direct violation of contract. In some cases the non-unionist was discharged,

or left voluntarily rather than join the union, and this was made the occasion for violent abuse of union officers by the employers. The latter also frequently went about among their workers in person to decry the union and create all possible dissension among its members. Every possible method was employed to discourage the use of the union label, which might be seriously in the way in case of a struggle. The label was discontinued except when the customer demanded it, and letters were sent out by the thousand announcing that an extra charge of \$1.00 would be made for every garment on which it was used.

In the face of all these conditions, conservative leaders still strove for peace, and hoped against hope that their contracts would save them yet for a time. Most of the special order locals had a contract which expired on March 1, 1905, with the provision that in case a new contract could not be agreed upon between November 1 and December 15 of 1904, the old one should continue to be in force until March, 1906. On November 1, accordingly, these locals signified their willingness to abide by the terms of the existing contract for another year. The reply of the National Wholesale Tailors to this proposition was to declare all existing contracts null and void, and announce their determination to sign no new contract except one which should leave the question of wages and hours entirely in their hands, to be regulated as they saw fit in accordance with the varying conditions of the trade.

ARBITRATION REFUSED BY EMPLOYERS.

A request for arbitration, which was also provided for in the unexpired contract, was refused. Following close upon this action the employers not only announced the open shop and their determination to have absolutely nothing further to do with the union, but in some cases even locked out their people. In the light of what has been stated above, there is little room for doubt that the lockout would have been universal if the strike had not come first.

It seems equally plain that, call it strike or lockout or what you will, it was the culmination of more than two years' determined effort, at first by round about methods but always with utter disregard of contracts, to crush the power of the union, in order to enjoy undisturbed the exploitation of cheap labor. It was cheap labor that the merchants craved when they asked the American Federation of Labor to revoke the Special Order charter. It was the hope of cheap labor which made them eager to testify in court to aid in making permanent an injunction directed against themselves. It is cheap labor now which inspires their championship of American liberty.

THE BROKEN CONTRACT RESULTS IN SWEAT SHOP CONDITIONS.

No doubt they have their grievances—it is probable that every union and every union leader makes mistakes at one time or another. But if there is anything to justify the gross violation of contract in this case, it has certainly not been made public. In the repeated efforts at arbitration since the interference of the teamsters, the Wholesale Tailors have not attempted either to deny or to justify their own course but have reiterated stubbornly that the strike is a dead issue. It is a curious fact, however, that while the employers' attorney is informing the public that there is no strike, and the union's representative that he can make no concession whatever to the strikers, individual contractors are using every form of persuasion, intimidation and even cowardly insult, in order to break the spirit of the brave girls who make up a majority of the strikers, and so to re-instate the strikers who according to Mr. Isaacs are not on strike at all! It is also worthy of note that while the employers declare that there is no question of wages involved, but only the right of the workers not to belong to a union, there is ample proof of cuts already ranging from 10 to 60 per cent on the old wage scales. Easy and rapid is the descent—to the sweat-shop as to another region of ill-repute.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the strike itself, the intervention of the teamsters, the tremendous consequences which now threaten; but to throw some light upon the original situation, and to call attention to certain dangers which are by no means new ones in the history of the labor movement, but which in this case seem invested with a peculiarly tragic interest.

The strike which was called on the 18th of November has been a dead issue for months, according to the employers' attorney. It is undoubtedly true that the shops are fairly well-filled, as to numbers. It is as little a matter for doubt that a very large majority of the 5,000 or 6,000 people who walked out more than five months ago are still out, and with apparently little prospect of immediate return to work. Who, then, are the workers, and who are idle? Locals 219 and 220, of injunction fame, are at work harder than ever.

IMMIGRANT STRIKE BREAKERS.

As to the further personnel of the present working force, let us take the testimony of eye-witnesses. The first of the two newspaper clippings which follow was taken from the *Chicago American* of March 17, the second from Mr. Luke Grant's excellent article in the labor columns of the *Inter-Ocean* for April 23.

Italian and Bohemian immigrants, with every evidence of "fresh arrivals" about them, are serving as strike breakers at the imposing Michigan boulevard factory of the Royal Tailors. These strike breakers have taken the place of Chicago girls and men who are fighting to maintain the principle of the union shop.

As these immigrant strike breakers, clad in dirty garments, with shawls for their only wrap, and their sleek, greasy black hair combed tight without covering, emerge from the alley exit of the factory, carefully obscured from the fastidious eyes of the society and millionaire classes who drive past the front door on the boulevard side, they make a rush for the street cars, a block away, screaming and jabbering until the whole neighborhood is awakened.

AID OF POLICE IS INVOKED.

Police have been called to guard these poor creatures. The police order them to hurry, but they give no signs that they understand, and how their services are controlled to advantage in the shops is a mystery.

(It is of course the "section-work" system, of which cutters as well as machine operators are now the victims which has enable the employers to use the class of labor above described.)

There has been a transformation in the clothing industry. In the place of the bright, healthy looking Scandinavian girl, who formerly was the predominant factor in this group of workers, can be seen the Italian girl. Many of these Italian girls carry big bundles as they leave the workshops. Those bundles contain unfinished garments, which they are carrying home to work on in the evening.

Go among their homes of an evening and you will find them busy. In poorly lighted, ill-ventilated rooms they are stitching far into the night. Where the union workers were paid 15 cents for finishing a pair of pants, these Italian girls are doing the same work for 8 and 10 cents a pair. Where under the union scale operators were paid 18 cents, these girls are doing the work for 14 cents. And the cut has only started. Without a union prices will go still further down, for there is no limit to human greed and rapacity.

And this is what the blessed open shop brings about in the clothing industry. This is the glorious liberty to which every American citizen is entitled to. Thus do we see a race of people who have high ideals of a standard of life, supplanted by a race content to live on a lower scale. And it will not stop with the Italian girl. She is satisfied with a lower standard of life than the Scandinavian, but she is not secure in her position when competition is fierce and unrestricted. Another race will come to the front, satisfied to live cheaper still than Italian, and the transformation goes on.

Is it any wonder that these Scandinavian girls have fought as they have fought in this strike? Is it any wonder that they vehemently declare today they will never give up their union and return to the old conditions?

THE CONTRAST.

Here is one side of the story. And to some of us who have read the other side again and again in the last two years or more, there is a fearful arraignment of our American democracy in the contrast between the two. It has been emphasized more than once in the newspapers that this is largely a woman's strike. It is a woman's strike not alone because the women are in the majority numerically, but because they have largely had the balance of power, and because as has already been shown, the highest and finest things which the

union has accomplished owed their initiative to woman's sympathy and were achieved by woman's courage. Moreover, those who are familiar with conditions in the average labor organization will readily understand that it was not a mere accident of numbers that has kept a woman in the president's chair year after year in a mixed local of 1,500 men and women vest makers. It was not the lack of masculine aspirants to the position which led the "pants" operators, in their second year of organization, to elect a woman business agent or walking delegate—the first, so far as is known, in the history of American unionism.

Let us follow the bright-faced Scandinavian girl to her union meeting. If we might sit beside her there we should see indeed many more bright-faced girls, but an unusual proportion of earnest looking women, middle-aged, some already beginning to call themselves old. Many are married women, some at work from bitter necessity, others from choice. (The special order operator as a rule sticks to her trade. It is, or has been, too difficult to attract the casual worker.)

Here is a woman who in her own country was a teacher, there, one who when she reaches home will read Schopenhauer or Nietzsche far into the night. This one for years was "boss" of her own shop, you will find her name now on Swedish hospital and church committees. That young person across the hall wears the dainty gown, which her own fingers fashioned during the slack season, with an air which many a society girl might envy.

This in no fiction, incredulous reader who dost condemn on general principles all people who strike. It is soberest fact—fact which even the employer will corroborate after a fashion when he tells you these people are too well dressed and too independent and know too much.

Is it the "American standard of living," of which we hear so much, that these employers condemn, and that many another marvels to find among women

who work with their hands? Go into their homes, and this question must be humbly answered in the negative. For you will find there, even in the poorer homes, this or that graceful custom or pretty trick of speech and manner which helps to give sweetness to life, and which the matter-of-fact American home, even in our middle-class, seldom knows the like of. The idealism which marks the northern race is not easily crushed out, even by the hardest conditions of poverty in a great city. It was a girl operator who had been at work since she was eleven, and whose chief lessons had been those of the street and the shop, who broke forth one day with the desire "for a union song, just for our own union", something serious and earnest, something that would go to the music of the Holy City". You will find these working people singing folk songs whose beauty and pathos will cause you to blush for the jingles which represent the popular American taste, and you will often hear among the older people unflattering comparisons between their native land and America as places to live in.

EXONENTS OF A REAL DEMOCRACY.

The secret of all this is found in the fact that these workers, or perhaps their parents, came to us from a land from which we have much to learn, not only of the poetry and charm which hovers around an older civilization, but of that very democracy which we are prone to count pre-eminently our own contribution to the world. A Swedish woman said not long ago: "We are better democrats than you are. You have a democratic system, but we have the democratic spirit!" And there is a two-fold justification of this claim to be noted among the Scandinavian working people in Chicago. On the one hand there is to be found the high average of intelligence and skill which is to be expected from a people among whom compulsory education has been so long the uniform and well-enforced rule, and by whom the dignity and value of skilled labor have been so well recognized. This is the gift of democracy to those

who belong strictly to the so-called working class. On the other hand, we find among us a surprising number of the so-called upper class, who, not quite daring to violate convention and make the final test of democracy in their own circle at home, have come to America in the full faith that here they would find their ideal realized.

Imagine the clever, well-educated, book-loving daughter of some professional man in Chicago going to a foreign city to enter domestic service or take up factory work, because she wished to be independent and to see the world—you will then be prepared to measure our democracy as it is, with what some of our foreign-born citizens have imagined it to be.

Let us frankly confess, therefore, that we have in our cosmopolitan working population at least a group here and there which has come to us not to allow us to raise its standard, but to help us to raise our own average of in-

telligence and skill and democratic spirit. Let it not be imputed to them for an offence against society that they are not ashamed to work with their hands, or that working with their hands, they nevertheless presume to dress with taste, to think for themselves, and to demand a fair compensation for their toil. Let us not prate of American democracy which means a leveling down of the mass of the people to the most ignorant and most helpless stratum of immigrant population, let us not be misled by a cry of "liberty" which means the liberty of the self-respecting worker to starve, while wage-slaves jostle each other for the means of mere animal existence, and the employer makes or breaks contracts as he pleases, without shame and without rebuke. The day is bound to come when such a conception of liberty is once for all swept off from the face of the earth. But when, and how? And how much of pity and terror must democracy know, before her heart is thereby purified?

The Employers' Version of the Facts

Through the courtesy of the Labor Board of the National Wholesale Tailors' Association, we are able to present substantially the views which that body of employers takes of the events which have transpired. Their contracts with District Council No. 6 of the United Garment Workers of America and the variety of individual contracts with several local unions, expired by limitation on March 1, 1905, except the cutters' contract with Local No. 21, which ran till June 1, 1905. Several of these agreements (coat makers, coat pressers, bushelmen and examiners) contained the following clause: "It is further agreed that if a new contract, or any changes may be desired in the foregoing, they shall be submitted by either parties hereto in writing not later than November 1, 1904," and contracts executed not later than Dec. 15, thereafter. In accordance therewith the above mentioned unions were notified on October

29, 1904, that the National Wholesale Tailors' Association did not desire the renewal of the contract for another year, but would faithfully fulfill all existing contracts. In conferences held between November 1 and 15 with the committees of the various unions, the employers declared the impossibility of continuing business successfully in Chicago under the conditions imposed by the then existing contracts. The business agents and officials of District Council No. 6 thereupon stated that they would give 24 hours in which to sign a new closed shop contract with the coat makers, to take effect March 1. In declining to comply with this demand the manufacturers offered to sign a blanket agreement with the National Organization of Garment Workers, provided they were given the freedom of the entire membership from which to select their employees. This was refused. On Friday, the 18th of November, the cutters

were ordered out on a strike, and on the following day the other employes were bidden to stop work by the unions. This, the employers charge, was in direct contravention of the terms of the contracts running till March and June, which contained a most explicit provision for arbitrating any difference within 24 hours after any controversy might arise.

The strike order, it is claimed, was not obeyed by the great majority of workers. Of the 8,000 coat makers, 80 per cent remained at work, and the other 20 per cent returned in ten days. All of the bushelmen, finishers and examiners, two-thirds of the pants and vest hands, and 20 per cent of the cutters, numbering in all between 10,000 and 12,000, continued at work, under the open shop conditions posted on the

Tuesday following the Friday walkout. This defection is thought to be due to the tyranny of the union officials over their members. There were left, therefore, on strike, according to the employers' computation, only about 400 cutters and trimmers, and one-third of the pants and vest hands, in all about 2,000 people. The same working hours (48 hours for the cutters and 54 hours for the tailors per week) and the same wage scale in force at the time of the strike are to be maintained, they claim. Skilled cutters are making from \$18 to \$30, hand button hole makers from \$10 to \$14, machine operators from \$10 to \$12, and pressers from \$12 to \$35 per week. Such is said to be the situation accepted by the employers, as given them by those employes who burned their bridges behind them.

The Place of the People's Forum in American Life

By Charles Sprague Smith

Director of the People's Institute, New York

Is there a place for the Forum, the assembling of the people in our public life to-day, and, if so, what place should be assigned to it? We are assumed to be a democracy, not such as the democracies of old, wherein all the people gathered for the transaction of business; but a representative democracy, one wherein authority is delegated to representatives elected by the people, who are thereafter to legislate in the interests of the people. But, are we actually a democracy? Does the people's wish find faithful interpreters in those elected to office? Has it not become too much the case in America, not only in municipal life, but also in state, if not national life, that those who hold office represent not at all the point of view of the multitude, but are rather the delegates of certain limited inter-

ests to which they have owed their selection as candidates, and largely their success at the polls? In other words, has not the machine taken the place of the public will, reducing it to a state of involuntary servitude?

MACHINE VS. MASS.

One who is in touch with the life of a great body of the people is conscious that the masses at least feel that they are more or less helpless in the presence of the machine. It matters little who is elected since the candidate of neither of the two leading parties will represent their interests, but rather will prove to be an obedient servant of the boss of the machine, and the people's influence is remote. In a greater or less degree this conviction of the people is true, and the state of things it asserts

is a commonplace of our public life to-day. What are the people to do? Or, to put it in another form, can this condition of things continue and democracy survive in America?

The latest intelligence that comes from Philadelphia would be ludicrous if it were not pitiable in its revelation. We are told that the Clergymen are gathering together in their churches to pray for the Mayor. Our New York Clergymen as Dr. Parkhurst and Mr. Slicer at least pray on their feet and in the open and such prayers are likely to prove more effective. Is there not obviously a place for an extra governmental method of asserting the people's right? Has not the mass meeting, which has existed in one form or another, from time immemorial, probably among all the higher races, its distinct place and part in our public life to-day?

THE PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE FORUM.

The People's Institute has worked upon this theory, and has attempted to transform the sporadic mass meeting, summoned only when an emergency called for it, into an ordered gathering of the people, meeting at regular frequent intervals for the discussion of questions of the day, for enlightenment as to the laws of social progress through the study of history and other fields of practical social science, and after such preparation, for action whenever the need demands. The results of the experiment will best illustrate what has been and is being accomplished. As a Forum, in the sense above explained, besides its work as a school of Practical Social Science, The People's Institute has become the Tribune of the masses of the people of New York City, and to it they look for summons and direction whenever their interests are affected, through proposed legislation. It can at any moment assemble them in great numbers and secure their support of any action in defense of the people's rights.

SUCCESSFUL PUBLIC AGITATION.

Examples will illustrate better than words the results of such Forum work.

In the early part of 1899, The Rapid Transit Commission attempted to secure an amendment to the City's Charter which limited the granting of franchises to 25 years, so as to enable it to give a perpetual concession of the then proposed Subway to the Metropolitan Railroad. The press was silent, or nearly so, and no civic bodies had taken action, when The People's Institute undertook to arouse the city through a mass meeting. In the meeting, held April 11th, 1899, it united essentially all the labor bodies, the unorganized masses and a notable representation from among leading citizens. The papers gave full reports, and those that had not already been enlisted were either aroused to opposition to the proposed measure, or proved thereafter very inefficient supporters of the plans of the Rapid Transit Commission. In the end, through effective work done in Albany, the People and not the Rapid Transit Commission triumphed but all familiar with the circumstances recognize that the sound of the trumpet that went forth at that time from the Institute's platform, and its assemblage of the people, were the efficient causes of the defeat of the Commission's proposal.

Last year, a small group of men, representing various Civic bodies, returned on a Wednesday evening from a Senate hearing in Albany utterly discomfited. The Committee had listened to what they had to say with scant courtesy and complete indifference. Verbal arguments were not for ears such as theirs. They knew, or thought they knew, the will of the machine and its business allies and the wish of those in control. Almost immediately after the hearing ended, the five railroad bills which the citizens had attacked, were reported out with essential unanimity. All Albany agreed that the victory for the Metropolitan Railroad was won. The Friday following, arrangements were made by telephone, for a mass meeting to be held on the succeeding Monday, the speakers secured and the press enlisted. On Sunday evening, a large audience assem-

bled in Cooper Union for the ethical work of the Institute, gave personal pledge of attendance at the meeting on the following night. On Monday evening the platform was occupied by representative men, especially from the Republican party, which was in control of the State legislature. The meeting was announced as an Anti-Grab Mass Meeting, the People versus the Legislature. The manifest intention of the legislature to pass bill after bill that invaded the sovereign rights of the people, was unsparingly denounced. The papers gave full reports with great headlines. Albany took alarm, and on the following day, if I err not, the five railroad bills were withdrawn. Assured victory had been changed into dire defeat. The other bills attacked at the mass meeting went each its course apparently undisturbed, the legislators having recovered their courage and insolently defying the people, but the supporters of the mass meeting followed the bills persistently and in the end defeated them all, the last, the Remsen gas bill, meeting its fate in the hearing before the Governor after it had safely passed both houses of the State legislature, and been approved by the Mayor.

A similar, though somewhat less spectacular success attended a mass meeting against vicious railroad legislation held the preceding year. The tenement house bill in its original enactment, the child labor bill and many other measures for and against the people's interests, have thus been similarly advanced, or delayed, by the people's action in their Forum. A further instance of a different character may also serve as illustration. The city was quite disturbed at the opening of the last session of the legislature, by the proposed attacks upon the tenement house law. Our People's Forum sent a message to Governor Odell, commanding him for his support of the bill in its original enactment, and stating that it expected from him continued support of the measure in so far as it safeguarded the physical and moral health of the tenement house dwellers. In his reply, the Governor stated that

he anticipated no successful legislation against the spirit and authority of the bill. The letter was communicated to the press, and from that time forward, the public, knowing the control which the Governor exercised over the legislature, breathed freely and with reason. Every attack on the bill failed.

THE INCREASING POWER AND VALUE.

With each success, the power of the Forum increases, both in its hold upon the people and in its recognized authority outside. It was the privilege of the writer to assert at different hearings in Albany, last winter, that The People's Institute was to-day enabled, as no other organization in New York City, to interpret the will and wish of the people, and no one disputed the assertion, even though many representatives from New York were present.

From many points of view, such an organized mass meeting would seem to be under the present order of things a useful organ in a democratic community. As a means of registering the wish of the people, it serves constantly to democratize the political movement, impressing upon it more and more the people's stamp. At the same time, it serves to encourage the people in their effort to preserve and extend democracy, and thus works constantly against eruptive revolution and for peaceful evolution. The public attention called to it has served to extend the movement beyond the city's boundaries. It is now following the Hudson northward. There are to-day People's Forums in New Rochelle, Yonkers, Tarrytown and Ossining. One has also been established in Portland, Oregon, by an old friend and supporter of the Institute. If the time comes, and might it not well come, that People's Institutes, or People's Forums were established in all important centers throughout the country, should we not have there a force rich in potency for the realization of true democracy, an efficient means for the redemption of our American political system from the blight that has fallen upon it through the conscienceless league between frenzied finance and a political system working always for its pocket?

In highland regions, the ancient homes of popular rule, when danger threatened, the signal sped from border to border through beacon fires kindled upon the heights. So yet may People's

Institutes, each in its station as an alert guardian of democracy, signal each to the other from bound to bound of our country, whenever danger threatens or the spirit of progress beckons.

The Eight Hour Day and Government Construction by Direct Labor

By Ethelbert Stewart

In the building of the two battleships, the Connecticut and the Louisiana, we have a concrete case offering opportunity for the study and comparison, not only of contract versus direct labor, but also of the eight-hour day versus the ten-hour day. The former battleship is being built by direct labor in the United States navy yards in Brooklyn under the eight-hour day and by union men. The battleship Louisiana is being built by contract by the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., of Newport News, Virginia, employing its men ten hours a day. In chapter three of a report to Congress by the Department of Commerce and Labor, we find a comparative statement of the work on these two battleships up to November 1, 1904. The information for this chapter was gathered and compiled by Mr. Frank J. Sheridan, one of the most accurate and painstaking agents of the Bureau of Labor, and his figures may be depended upon. Mr. Sheridan says, in his report: "No other factor is considered than the productive ability of the two bodies of men doing exactly the same kind of work, using the same kind of tools and the same kind of material. It is practically all hand work, as the output of automatic machines, with their speed limitations in production per hour, does not enter into this work."

The keel of the Louisiana was laid February 7, 1903. She was launched August 27, 1904. On the date of launching, the percentage of hull work completed was 54.5. The keel of the

Connecticut was laid March 10, 1903. She was launched September 29, 1904. Percentage of hull work completed was 53.59. This is by far more rapid work than has ever been done by contracting firms building battleships heretofore, as it is well understood that there is to be a race between the direct labor in the navy yards and contract labor at Newport News. For instance, the elapsed time between the laying of the keel and the launching of the ship is 568 days for the Louisiana and 570 days for the Connecticut, whereas, in the three battleships nearest the size of these two, the Georgia was 1,135 days from the laying of the keel to the launching, the New Jersey 957 days and the Virginia 684 days. These ships have a displacement of 14,948 tons, as against 16,000 tons by the two battleships under discussion.

At the date of launching, the gross weight of the structural material worked upon for the Louisiana, the contract ship, was 14,295,965 pounds. The net weight worked into the hull was 12,216,154 pounds. The aggregate hours of all employes engaged upon the work was 2,413,888. The structural material worked into the hull of the Connecticut, the direct labor ship, at the date of launching, showed a gross weight of 14,173,894 pounds. The net weight of finished material worked into the hull was 11,391,040 pounds. The aggregate hours of employes engaged on this work was 1,808,240. In other words, the number of pounds worked in per hour was, for the Louisiana, 5.0608; for the

Connecticut, 6,2995. The average number of pounds worked in for ten hours, or one day, in the Louisiana was 50,608, while the average worked into the Connecticut in a day of eight hours was 50,396 pounds. The daily average of men working full time of ten hours on the Louisiana was 500.8. The number of men working full time of eight hours on the Connecticut was 470.9. This shows that the average production of a man per hour on the Connecticut exceeded by 24.28 per cent, the average production per man per hour on the Louisiana; which explains why the progress on the Connecticut, as shown in the report of percentage of work completed to the Bureau of Construction, has kept pace with the work completed on the Louisiana, namely: November 1, 1904, the Louisiana reported 60.7 percentage completed, while the percentage of completion of the Connecticut on the same date was 63.9.

Mr. Sheridan gives several reasons why the ship being built by the navy yards is progressing faster in proportion to the hours worked than the one being built by contract at Newport News. His reasons are as follows:

"1. Higher rates of wages are paid at the navy yard than by private companies in Greater New York and vicinity, and the rates of the latter average higher than private companies elsewhere.

"2. Employment the year round is steadier and more secure than in private yards.

"3. The higher wages, shorter hours and steady employment attract the best grade of workmen to the navy yard, where a tacit recognition of an asserted economic theory prevails that the best workmen can not be induced to work extra hard without larger pay than the average.

"4. Prompt recognition of good work by advances in wages and promotion in grade.

"5. A large waiting list of mechanics and others from private shops to select from.

"6. The expectation or belief that if the Connecticut were built in record

time the building of another battleship would be given to the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

"7. A zeal generated by the general challenge of the country to the navy yard workmen to make good their claims in this test.

"8. Prompt discharge for inefficiency.

"9. Dismissal of workmen who could not or would not come up to a required standard of output in quantity and quality.

"10. No restriction of output individually or collectively.

"11. Loafing, soldiering, or 'marking time' not tolerated.

"12. Workmen required to begin work the moment the whistle blows, and to continue working until the moment the whistle blows at quitting time.

"13. Strict technical and exacting supervision of a high order of skill and experience.

"14. A desire on the part of naval constructors and workmen to remove an impression of inefficiency growing out of former navy yard construction of war vessels before civil-service regulations controlled employment there."

Reasons 6 and 7, as listed by Mr. Sheridan, seem to require some qualification. The Machinist Union claims that whatever of increased speed may have been secured through the zeal of the men to show the advantage of the Government building its own battleships in the navy yards direct has been more than offset by the delay in the supply of material to work upon. The union officials, both national and local, have persistently declared that material for the Connecticut has been delayed; that material which the steel manufacturers knew would not stand inspection has been sent to Brooklyn to be condemned. This, it is alleged, is for the purpose of delaying the work on the ship.

It is claimed that this being a test case, if the union could convince the Government that there was a saving of material and money in building its battleships in its own yards, that as soon as this becomes the settled policy

of the Government, the zeal generated by the challenge would be lost and no future ship could be built in anything like the same time. But if, on the other hand, the material is being supplied by contract, as of course it is, and this is held back, it operates as an offset to the gain from the zeal of the workmen. When once the Government adopts the policy of building all battleships by direct labor, then contractors can gain nothing by delaying the supply of material, and the country may reasonably expect that as good or better record will be made on any future ship as that being made on the Connecticut.

So far, the claim of labor leaders that the eight-hour day is productive of better work and just as much of it in the skilled trades as the ten-hour day, seems to be amply sustained. The Government, whether State or national, should be a model employer, and the working hours and conditions should be always of the best, and in order that these may be always controlled, the Government and State work should be done by direct labor and never by contract. But in order that this may be done without remonstrance from the tax-paying public, workmen should be careful, and trade unions, especially, should always insist that men working for the Government or State under these better conditions should, in every instance, "make good" and leave no room for the popular slander that public employment is private snap. It is a pleasure to note that with all of the drawbacks, and there are many, the machinists as well as the Ship Builders' Union are deporting themselves so well at Brooklyn Navy Yard. At the same time, it is disappointing that Congress should be so reluctant in the appropriation of needed funds for the improvement of the yards. A New York paper of March 11, 1905, has this to say on the situation:

"Many of the officials of the Brook-

lyn Navy Yard fear that its usefulness is at stake owing to the failure of the Washington authorities to recognize the many necessities of the local yard. Disappointments have been piling up for some time past, and it is angrily stated by some of the officers that the yard, although the most important in the country, is not properly looked after by the State's representatives on the naval committee. Considering the service that the yard has always been able to render to the navy, and the greater experience of the mechanics and workmen in general who have served there, it is difficult for parties interested in the progress of the yard to understand why Congress has failed so utterly in recognizing its needs.

"The report of a board of naval officers presided over by Rear Admiral Frederick Rodgers, the recently retired commandant of the New York Navy Yard, recently issued, stated that \$1,508,000 should be spent for new piers, cranes and railroads in the yards. Secretary Morton and all of the bureau chiefs approved of the report of the board. Congress, however, ignored the needs of the yard, and the naval appropriation bill contained nothing to indicate that the local conditions had been made known in Washington."

It is difficult to believe that this is the final disposition of this matter, but like many other things, in the hurry of a short session, it was side-tracked, only with the intention of taking it up at the next regular session. Many of us earnestly and conscientiously doubt the wisdom of large navies and the continued construction of more and more and larger and larger battleships; but if that is to be the policy of the Government, there can be little room for doubt as to the wisdom of constructing them by direct labor, and the navy yards should be so equipped that they will be able to handle such work as fast as Congress may order it.

Denison House and The Italians

By Vida D. Scudder

Contributed through the College Settlement Association—Katharine Coman, Editor

"The North End of Boston is called, I believe, Little Italy," said Mrs. Julia Ward Howe lately in her pretty Italian, to the Circolo Italio-Americano of Denison House: "But I am not certain that the name is correct. In olden days, Sicily was known as Magna Grecia, because the greater number of persons of the blood of Hellas were living there. In like manner, the time may not be far distant when the Italian colonies in the United States shall be known as Magna Italia." And delighted applause filled the air.

One of the greatest dramas that history has witnessed is as we all know going on today, in the blending of the Peoples. "The East and the West have met: God is their Maker." Indeed, there is no West nor East any longer, for the ancient Orient is West to the advancing American race, and Europe for us is the land of the sunrising. From this sunrise-country come the races, old yet new, and over-pour our shores.

THE COMING OF THE ITALIANS.

No act in the great drama is more fascinating, surely, than the Coming of the Italians. Thinking what these heirs of the Roman Empire have meant in the imaginative and artistic life of Europe mediaeval and renascent, brooding over the glorious "risorgimento" in their immediate past, the mind is filled with wonder, to reflect that they are with us by tens of thousands, destined to become a part of the American nation. But here they are—smarting under a sense of social exclusion, and piteously a prey to the worst influences in American life. How it stirs imagination and faith to hear the tongue of Dante correctly spoken in streets builded of the Pilgrim Fathers, to see faces that suggest some old Roman coin, or, attending mass, to listen to a sermon

from some pure-faced son of Francis, and watch after service the hundreds of devout peasants who fill the little Puritan square! People who love Italy,—and their name is legion—would be, one would suppose, all eagerness to enter into relations with these new-comers, to share with them the best in American thought and life. But they aren't—probably because they have not enough imagination.

A great deal of active social work to be sure, from the days of the old North End Mission, has been done for the Italians in Boston. The Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, for instance, has just temporarily withdrawn from the field, having righted many of the most crying abuses that met the incoming immigrant at the wharves. The Catholic Society of San Raffaele prolongs the work of protection: the Protestant Italian Church is valiantly at work: the Civic Service House and other settlements have excellent educational enterprises.

THE "SELF CONTAINED."

Yet despite all these agencies, the first impression on a student is that the Italian colony is essentially what the English call "self-contained"—a world in miniature, very curious, and very ignorant, concerning the life of what its members courteously designate as "the American element" in Boston. Points of contact with this "element" are few, and hardly what one would choose. The children to be sure are in the schools, forgetting their own language and learning to speak English pretty badly. But the grown-ups soon acquire an entirely naif conviction that "the American system" places a mysterious but convenient money value on a vote, industrial conditions are interpreted to them by a "bosso," too often of their own national-

ity, and they take their place helplessly in the great ranks of unorganized labor, with no idea of the orderly movement to which they are an unconscious menace. As for intellectual contact with America, the Italian laboriously spells out the lurid pages of our cheapest little papers, resenting their frequent attacks on the "Dago," and cherishing the idea that he is becoming familiar with American public opinion. "I read *Vim*: it is a good paper? One of your best?" a burly Italian doctor asked the writer. He was perfectly open to gentle protest, and *Vim*—which is a real organ, by the way, not a cereal—is now replaced by *The Outlook*. Of what America means to us, no Italian has a clear idea. "I am not going to be Giuseppe any longer, mamma mia," said a solemn little fellow. "I am American boy now. My name, it is Mike."

It seems a pity. For the Italian has singularly swift powers of assimilation, and he lands here with a fund of enthusiasm, ready to seize eagerly on the finer aspects of our political and industrial life—if he ever met them. Your Italian is idealist or cynic at will; his American reception generally turns him cynic.

SOCIAL ANALYSIS.

Social analysis of Little Italy is simple. The colony contains, first, a class of people in the background, who, by the opinion of their country-men, would better stay there. They have been here for some time, have made money—for the Italians are large property-holders in Boston—and prefer to be left alone in the spending of it. We find next a considerable number of professional men with their families, occupied in serving the colony as doctors, lawyers, journalists, priests, musicians, etc.,—most of them in permanent residence, often prosperous and attractive people. None except the musicians have any contact with Americans: often they are delighted at any opportunity of this kind, and will tell you that it is the first to come in

their way after years of Boston life. Some but not all talk English,

Our attention is next drawn and held by a shifting throng of educated young fellows: a migratory element comprising the adventurous, the discouraged, the helpless, the competent: all guilelessly amazed that American life is difficult without a knowledge of English, all ready to turn their hands to anything, and forced as a rule into occupations inferior to what they would have been willing to accept at home. These are the people whom America is making into youthful cynics. Lonely, intellectually starved, disillusioned, they constitute, as a keen observer sent here last spring by the Italian government remarked, a much more dangerous element in our society than do the manual laborers. They come to bless and remain to curse, and form an intellectual proletariat embittered by a sense of neglect. Yet a very little friendliness and social recognition, a slight degree even of genuine fellowship and sympathy, will bring them into loyal enthusiasm for American ideals. Below them, of course, come the great mass of ignorant and illiterate laborers—usually from Southern Italy—who find it comparatively easy to slip into place here, the language of the hands being everywhere the same.

COMING INTO CONTACT WITH AMERICA.

A settlement can help to bring people of all these classes except the first into vital relations with American life. But it has perhaps a special opportunity with the second and third class. It is largely the young people lately come over, innocent of English but full of intellectual and moral curiosity about the new land, whom Denison House has the privilege of knowing. The large and prosperous Club we have formed owes its popularity largely to the fact that it includes many Italian-speaking American members, for the chance to know Americans is viewed by these Italians as a rare and strange privilege. A translation of a report of

one of the meetings, from an Italian paper, will show how much they are enjoyed:

"The meeting of the Circolo Italico-American at Denison House last Friday was a new triumph for the Italian element in Boston. The *clou* of the evening was the "Credo" of "Othello," and a selection from "Carmen," sung by that most valiant baritone, Signor Caramanna. Music was also furnished by the brothers Gasparinetti and others, and Signorina Cristodora touched every one by her recitation of "Suor Estella." —A novelty was the substitution of discussion for lecture. The theme was IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA. There took part Miss Scudder, Dr. de Ropertis, Lawyer Zottoli, etc., etc.—It was a lively discussion, full of brio and interest. The rooms were as always crowded with beautiful and gracious ladies, and with courteous gentlemen, both Italians and Americans. Coffee and cakes were served, and notice was given that Mrs. Gordon Ames offered a reception to the members at her own home. This invitation, the first of many to follow, proves how useful has been the institution of the *simpatico Circolo*. It was a severe but useful lesson to the Italians who justify their own egoism with the insinuation that the Americans despise our colony: two persons of heart and mind, Miss S. and Mr. M., have sufficed by themselves to dispel the odious insinuation.

"We are informed that at Denison House is established a regular service of help for the Italian families of the neighborhood. Among other things, there will be a service of doctors and nurses, free and at reduced rates, through the generosity of certain Italian physicians. Counting up, the Club, in its few months of life, has established classes in Italian and English, schools of arts and trades, an office of assistance, and social meetings full of intellectuality: and finally it has brought Americans and Italians to meet and entertain one another on the basis of perfect equality. Could more be expected?"

OCCASIONAL PURE DEMOCRACY.

It may be remarked in parenthesis that we have not done all these things yet, though we hope to some day. But the last thing mentioned, we have certainly achieved. For the American members of the Club have quite as good a time as the Italians, and especially in our up-town meeting, in the "palazzo" of the "quartiere nobile," we beguile our fellow-men into the practice of pure democracy without knowing it. Up-town entertainments for settlement Clubs are no rarity, fortunately; but we all know, and might as well acknowledge how often it is hard to have a large number of up-town guests and yet keep the occasion free from any philanthropic taint. But the Americans eager for a chance to practice Italian do not care whether the courteous and patient person to whom they are talking is a cook or a count, —we frequently have both at our receptions—and the many who agree with Carmichael that the Italians are the most charming of the children of Adam, would rather converse any day with an Italian artisan than, let us say, an Anglo-Saxon merchant.

The language of the Club is Italian, and the members possess endless resources to entertain themselves, and us. One may worry a little lest the recently-arrived barber or waiter, finding himself so welcomed in the "quartiere nobile" derive too Utopian an idea of the social customs in our democracy; yet after all, we settlement folk are convinced that the idea of social life entertained by the settlements is the true American ideal and the ideal of the future: and the day is surely past when we need to consider our methods as artificial or sentimental, rare though the occasions may still be on which we can put them into practice. Surely we owe thanks to the Italians whose "inborn good manners,—the sunny, cheery courtesy which never seems to be mere external ceremony but springs straight from the heart itself" enable us so simply to carry out our cherished theories.

EDUCATIONAL WORK TO BE DONE.

A great deal of educational work ought to be done for the Italians and they are ready for it. Most of it should be in the Italian tongue: if we wait for them to learn English we can wait forever. But study-courses in American history and civics can make good Americans of them even though they continue to speak the "dolce lingua," and such courses we hope to establish in the near future, if we can persuade some of our University men, professors of the Romance languages, to give them. Meantime, one of the best ways of bringing these people in contact with the higher aspects of American life is to let them share our efforts to help their poorer, or at least their more ignorant, fellow-country men. The Club has the double object of bringing Italians and Americans together and of organizing social work among poor Italians, and it is fulfilling the one aim as heartily as the other. The social work at Denison House among poor Italians is on the usual lines and hardly calls for description. We have a large sewing-class, evening language-classes—some in Italian, by request of the Consul—boys' clubs in clay-modelling, etc., a medical and nursing service; and a promising beginning of getting some girls and woman out of the factories and employing them in the beautiful embroidery and lace-work in which they are adepts. The only unusual feature in all this work is the unstinting and generous help given us in it by the Italians of education. Members of our large club come to the sewing class, and help in the cutting, and interpret between us and the women who speak only dialect:

other members teach faithfully and ably the evening classes: doctors give their services free or at low rates to those we send to them: and an Italian Welfare Committee of which nearly all the members are Italians has just been established.

It is a beautiful fellowship which we are forming, and we feel humbled and abashed by the swift, loving, over-appreciation with which our friends greet what little we can do. In all that is dear and cherished in American memories they are ready to take their part. Only yesterday, two came to us and said: "We know that the thirtieth of May is a sacred day for you: we want the Italian organizations of Boston to celebrate it, and to ask you to share in the celebration." "Yes," we answered, "and we will sing the Battle Hymn of the Republic, and Garibaldi's Hymn: and know that all the nations have been one without knowing it, in the sacrificial struggle for freedom." And yesterday, too, came from across the sea the other side of the story—a letter from an Italian gentleman telling how new vitality and ambition, intellectual and religious, had been introduced into a far mountain village in Calabria, by the young man just returned from his two or three years in America, full of new ideals which he longed to share with the old friends among whom he had after all elected to live. Let us not regret too much the coming and going, the return to the old home of those who in a few years here have gained that for which they came. The great modern Drama of Fellowship has many phases; in Europe, as here, the loving contact of race with race may be fruitful of unexpected blessing.

Minnesota's New Juvenile Court Law

By Edwin D. Solenberger

The charitable and philanthropic workers of Minnesota are rejoicing over the passage of a new Juvenile Court Law which unifies, enlarges and ele-

vates the work of caring for dependent and delinquent children. Minnesota's law is a copy of the Illinois and Colorado laws. It applies to all dependent

and delinquent children under seventeen years of age, and is restricted in its operations to the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Duluth. The law specifically provides that children shall not be committed to any association or institution not approved by the State Board of Control. The jurisdiction in these cases will be in the District Court and the District Judges will select one of their number to preside over the Juvenile Court.

The three cities to which this new law applies previously had certain portions of a juvenile court law—a good probation system, a law requiring the judge to clear the court room of all disinterested persons when juvenile cases are to be heard, and a plan similar to that of Michigan for dealing with dependent and neglected children. In recognition of the increased work of the probation officer and his assistant, under the new law, the legislature passed an additional law raising the salary of this

officer from \$1,200.00 to \$1,500.00 per year and that of his assistant from \$500.00 to \$750.00 per year. It is expected that the additional probation officers will be provided by private associations and individuals.

Another law just passed by the Minnesota State Legislature, which is of special import to those who are interested in the training and education of those who are dealing with social problems is one to encourage the attendance of the County Commissioners at the Minnesota State Conference of Charities and Correction. The bill provides that the commissioners from each county shall furnish a representative at the Conference and that their expenses shall be paid by their respective counties. It is believed that as a result of their attendance upon the Conference, the County Commissioners will be much more intelligent in their administration of alms-houses, jails, and out-door relief.

English and American Trade Unionism Compared

By James Wignall

Fraternal Delegate of the British Trade Unions to the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor

ORGANIZING THE UNSKILLED.

After the memorable dock strike in London in 1889 was settled there was a great revival in the British trade union movement. Prior to that time there was practically no organization of labor except in the skilled trades. But soon the proposal to organize the unskilled workmen and the women victims of the sweating systems came to the fore. The necessity for such a step was great. But the effort was ridiculed and even opposed by the skilled trades,—the aristocracy of labor. The unskilled laborers prevailed, however, and the trade councils became known as the "trade and labor councils." A close unity and bond of brotherhood soon sprang up.

As the strength of the movement was gradually built up, we were met with the same calamities that overtake the movement in its early stages wherever you go. We had great difficulty with our new members. They seemed to think the organization was simply a fighting force, and many of them said, What is the use of having a union if we do not have a strike or dispute of some kind? An example of this use may be seen in a change of conditions which was brought about among the dock workers.

THE DRINK EVIL: WHAT THE UNION DID TO SOLVE IT.

At the docks in South Wales a very sad condition of things existed. Drinking among the workers was all too prevalent. Almost every employer kept a

saloon near the dock, and the man who spent the most money for drink was the man who got the most work. At the week's end a long procession of women, with baskets on their arms, could be seen walking up and down the street, waiting to get money from their husbands in order to lay in the week's stock of provisions. And many and bitter were the disappointments when the men, instead of being paid a sum of money, were found to be in debt to the employer.

The organization of the workmen soon changed all this. The employer with a saloon attachment was quickly eliminated. Laborers were employed permanently and paid at stated periods. Agitation against the drink evil brought about a great change among the workmen themselves. No drinking man can now hold a responsible position in our union.

THE RESULTS OF EDUCATION.

There have been other great improvements in the last fifteen years. Fifteen years ago I think it would have been impossible to find one of our teachers the son of a docker. Now a large proportion of those who teach our children are taken from our ranks. In my own case, I had no chance even to learn my alphabet. Evening classes were started, to teach us to read and to write. And we have continued right up to today, with the result that we have seven of our men on our county council, two on our school board, seven on our board of guardians, and two are harbor trustees. This shows the kind of work we are doing and what we have accomplished.

ENGLISH TRADE UNIONS COMPARED WITH AMERICAN.

How do I compare the movement in England with the movement in this country? I feel that I should be careful to be conservative. It is true, it seems to me, that the trade union movement in this country is more thoroughly organized than in England. But taking into consideration the solidarity—the feeling of unity—the steadfastness of

it—and the tremendous opposition we have met with, I think on the whole there is more prospect of the movement continuing with safety in our country than there is in this country. There is too much internal strife in the trade union movement in this country. In England we had that too, but we have overcome the most of it.

In England we have felt that the trade union should not exist merely for the purpose of improving the wages and shortening the hours of labor. If it existed for that alone, we would feel that we were far from fulfilling the objects of the movement. We have felt this for years and have acted in accordance. You can give a man the best wages and shorten his hours of labor, but if that man is constantly exposed to explosion in the mine, accident on the dock, and the thousand and one dangers that exist, without being safeguarded from them, you are failing to achieve some of the objects of the movement. We have demanded and to a large extent secured protection for life and the abolition of the sweating dens. Lady Dilke, recently deceased, who was the last one to bid me God speed when I came to visit America, has done more toward brightening the lives and bringing something of God's sunshine into the homes of the sweater's victims than anybody can estimate who has not known her and seen the results of her work. My most heartfelt tribute is totally inadequate to express the sorrow of British workers at her death.

LEGISLATION.

The trade unions in England engage actively in securing desirable legislation. The Mines Regulation Act has saved thousands of lives and our factory laws have helped greatly. We have felt that human life is worth more than gold. The laws are strict in the matter of factory labor and safety appliances. We are asking for a large increase in the number of factory inspectors, and that the inspectors be men of practical experience. The govern-

ment is meeting our demands to a great extent. We have also been successful in having the factory laws extended to the docks and quays. When we said that a docker ought to come under the same head as a mechanic, they did not quite understand us. We said that more people were killed and injured on the docks than in the mines and factories. The people did not believe us. The government appointed a commission of inquiry and their report showed that our statements were correct. And the factory laws were thereupon extended to the docks, quays and riversides. I remember the time on the docks when a man was of less value than a horse. That time has passed away, but we are still clamoring for more safeguards.

We secured an Employers' Liability Act, making the employer liable for accidents to his workmen while at work. But to actions to recover there were interposed the defenses of contributory negligence—that is, that the employee, in order to recover, must not have contributed in the least degree to the accident—and the fellow-servant rule—that is, that the employee could not recover if the accident resulted from the negligence of a co-employee. It was like offering food to a hungry man and then putting a muzzle on him so he could not eat.

We asked for a better law, and got the Workmen's Compensation Act. It gives the workman compensation for "injury from any cause, unless it is wilful on his part." He is given one pound per week as long as he is unable to follow his employment. If the injury is fatal, his widow and children receive from 150 pounds to 300 pounds. This sum is not large, perhaps, but it is a great help to those who live so close to the verge of poverty.

We have also the Preference of Payment of Wages bill. This passed the House of Commons and House of Lords very quietly and the world does not seem to know much about it. In cases of bankruptcy, for instance, it makes wages due to workmen a first lien upon the estate that is being closed up.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

Regarding the newer development of trade unionism in England, we have created a national federation, which has accumulated one million pounds. This organization is doing much good in settling strikes and lockouts. There is not that big disposition in our country for strikes that there used to be. We are great believers in the settlement of all industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration. The Miners' Conciliation Board has done an immense amount of good. The tin plate trade in South Wales, which was giving employment to 30,000 people at the time of the passage of the McKinley bill, was quickly and completely destroyed under the operation of that bill. Today the tin plate trade of South Wales is more vigorous and active than ever. The output last year was the record in the history of the trade. Employment is steadier. How is this accounted for? Every employer will say it is due to our present method of settling disputes. For years a single week was not known to pass without a strike in some part of the country. We have now a Conciliation Board,—so many from the men's side and so many from the employer's side,—and they settle all the disputes that arise in the course of a year say. This Committee may be called at any time to go and meet the men and see what they have to say. The men must continue working, giving notice of their complaint to the Committee, which will be on the spot within twenty-four hours, and if the workmen have a grievance, the power of the organization backs them up in seeking its removal. But the Federation will not support any body of men who strike without first giving this Committee an opportunity to examine and report on their complaint. And for over seven years there has not been a strike in that trade, with one trifling exception. The tendency today in England is therefore to settle our industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration rather than by resort to the strike or lockout. Every means to settle amicably must be exhausted be-

fore extreme measures are resorted to. The National Federation has done and is doing much to foster this spirit.

LABOR REPRESENTATION COMMITTEES.

We have in every county throughout the country what we call "Labor Representation Committees," whose duty it is to agitate for better legislation. We believe that the trade unionist must get into politics. We are demanding of our county councils that they build better homes for the workmen; that they furnish transportation facilities so working people can live in the country; and that their power be used toward making homes comfortable and healthful with bath rooms in them. The people laughed; they asked what would a docker do with a bath room; they said he would never use it. They were wrong again. We have our homes, we have good car service to and from them, and we have our bath rooms, and we use them, and we use them frequently. The bath rooms are located in the rear of the house. The husband comes home, goes to the rear, lays aside his working clothes, takes a bath,—and there is plenty of hot water,—dresses in clean clothes and in ten minutes is in the bosom of his family, clean, comfortable and self-respecting, and without fear of a scolding for soiling his wife's clean house. If you want to keep a man out of the saloon, make his home cheerful and pleasant. The government is also enabling us to buy our own homes. All this is building up a better manhood and womanhood, and it is giving to us something of the life that God intended us to live. And this is what the trade union man is working for. We are striving to leave our children something for which they will bless us.

INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL AFFAIRS.

The labor unions are also playing an important part in the educational matters of our country. We have demanded that the school age limit for our children be raised. In the last fifteen years it has been raised twice. To-

day children must attend school until they are fourteen years of age, and we are hoping within the next twelve months to make it fifteen. But who are the people that have opposed us? The workmen? No, it has been the employers who wanted cheap labor, and who would bring the children into the factory tomorrow if they dared to do it. We have insisted on the best schools and the best teachers. We have free education in our elementary classes, but unfortunately the fees in the high and technical schools are so high that they practically bar out the working man's child.

To my mind, the proudest thing in all the history of the movement is the number of resolutions on educational matters that have been adopted in our labor congresses. I have visited many of your schools. You have many splendid and beautiful schools, and you have some bad ones, but I am proud to say tonight that the best of American schools do not compare with the schools we have in South Wales today.

I have been impressed with the fact that in England we are not in anything like the hurry you are here in America. The people here seem always to be talking of work and wages; they do not seem to have any pleasure in life at all. If it is all work and no play, it makes life a bit dull. We have a weekly half-holiday. We stop on Saturdays at one o'clock and do not go to work again until seven Monday morning, although there are, of course, exceptions in some industries.

The trade union movement in England to-day is more of a vital movement than ever. It concerns itself with the things that come near to the people's every day life in many other ways than by direct effect on wages and hours. It helps to make life more worth living and it works not for to-day alone but for the good of generations yet unborn. Anything that makes itself felt in these ways will go on and continue in power. For the good of humanity it must go on.

College Settlement Association

Katharine Coman, Editor

A Glance at the Philadelphia Settlements

By Anna F. Davies

Headworker at The College Settlement of Philadelphia

Two or three years ago a woman interested in Settlements and conversant with several of them in different cities was asked to give an account of Settlements in Philadelphia. She smiled and said, "That is easily done, there are none."

In the preparation of the fourth edition of the Bibliography of Settlements the editor attempted to reach a definition of a settlement. After long feeling about for it in the responses to the circular of questions filled out at Settlements it was decided to include everything calling itself a Settlement. On this basis, in the year 1900 the Bibliography showed four Settlements in Philadelphia. At that time the name had little popularity but the appreciation and use of it have increased until now some ten or twelve establishments in various parts of the city are applying it to themselves. It is well that close definition has not as yet set limits to the meaning of the term. In further conversation our critic, who had found none of us, made two exceptions to her ready generalization which had side-tracked Philadelphia so completely. Her definition excluded "missions," even missions able to show a resident household. It excluded houses maintained in any spirit save that of the widest democracy. In short it was a definition of perfection, a description of an ideal.

Now no more in Philadelphia than in other cities do the existing Settlements count themselves to have attained the ideal; but neither are they ready to count themselves as non-existent. Such as they are we shall present them, briefly, for the purpose of enumeration and the most general information. Philadelphia settlers who read *THE COMMONS* will hope that this cursory sketch may quicken in the community

a desire for personal acquaintance with the various houses. They will certainly feel, with the writer, the failure to make vivid, in such a sketch, the interest and hope belonging to their chosen way of life: they will stand ready, on demand, to give further reason for their faith to all inquiring of them. They will be found, too, eager to enlist new recruits in all branches of the service. From sappers and miners up to generals-in-chief the gaps in the ranks wait to be filled.

THE SETTLEMENT CONTACT.

The range of population touched by the work of the several houses is wide. In the north eastern section of the city English, Scotch, Irish and Germans come under the Settlement influence; in the western sections Irish and Americans, Slavs and Germans; in the central and southern sections Negroes, Irish, Italians and Slavic Jews; while along the Delaware river front it is largely the Poles and Irish with whom the Settlements have to deal.

The house which comes into the closest contact with one of the worst neighborhoods of the city is located in a narrow alley known as Addison St. Neighbors may almost clasp hands from opposite windows and ears are forced to share doings from which the eyes instinctively withdraw themselves. Twelve years ago a husband and wife with their children came to this alley to live, to teach, to use their influence against the lawlessness and unspeakable vice which prevailed. Their plant was a tiny dwelling redeemed from filth and vermin to the family use, and a microscopic church dating from early in the century. The story of the cleaning up and out of the alley; the successful raising of a family of children under chokingly adverse conditions; the devel-

opment of neighborhood activities among the swarming children, black and white, native and foreign; the hideous experiences met by the voter of the family in his attempt to know and influence the political rottenness of the rottenest section of a rotten city—of such a story there is no end. This small family settlement with its Neighborhood House is near neighbor to the Starr Centre at 725-727 Lombard St., which continues the work of the St. Mary St. Library, the pioneer of the secular type of social effort in this depressed locality.

the Starr Garden Park opened by the city covered their site. During the past year the Starr Centre has moved into its own house and is developing residential and social features of value. Especially noteworthy is the securing the use of the Starr Garden Park for play ground use.

Meantime the College Settlement moved to 433 Christian St., six squares away, where it has acquired the use of four properties. One lot and half another are used as play yards. Three dwellings, thrown into connected use give space for twelve residents and the



Members of the Starr Centre Coal Club

THE COLLEGE SETTLEMENT.

In 1884 the Library was opened. Its work was handed over to the College Settlements Association and the College Settlement of Philadelphia was opened in 1892. In 1897 the development of the work brought about a reorganization of its departments by which its distinctive thrift agencies were grouped under independent management and their home at 7th and Lombard Sts. was named the Starr Centre in honor of Theodore Starr. Two years later the College Settlement buildings were razed to the ground and

meetings of clubs, classes, small social affairs, etc. There is a great need for an audience room. There has been added a branch house at 502 S. Front St. in quite a different neighborhood, on the Delaware water front, which bids fair soon to rival the parent house in size and busy-ness. A house in an outlying part of the city is loaned to the Settlement for summer use. Here, at Chalkley Hall, where country conditions still persist, is conducted a country club. Two residents have left the Christian St. house to establish themselves in a tenement house in the heart of the

Italian quarter within easy walking distance. For several years help has been furnished in conducting another little outpost at Point Breeze, twenty minutes distance by car, in a settlement of Hungarians employed in the oil works and related industries in the extreme southern section of the city. To some extent exchanges of residents and of organized groups are made among these centers, tending to break down the feeling of separation by reason of differences and to build up the feeling of a common Americanism as a sufficient ground for Association in perhaps everything except religion. One evening, a much mixed evening, a small boy was discovered on the doorstep announcing loudly that every nation could come to this house except Carrie Nation.

THE UNIVERSITY CHRISTIAN SETTLEMENT.

The University Christian Settlement, which has boys' clubs at 26th and Lom-

ed by the secretary of the University Y. M. C. A., an officer called the superintendent, and a paid manager who is in residence with some six or eight stu-



A College Settlement Picnic at Bryn Mawr College

dents. The chief support in finances and in volunteer works comes from the faculty and student body of the University of Pennsylvania, the women working at the girls' Club and the men with the boys. The chief success of the former seems to have been in the friendly relations established with the women of the neighborhood. On the other hand the residents at the boys' club have failed to establish any intimacy of acquaintance with the men. The clubs, essentially self-governing, profit by frequent lectures from the University professors. An incident is related of the dismissal from his club of one member by his fellows who were persuaded, after a lecture on tuberculosis, that their club comrade, a sufferer from that disease, was not a fit club member.

EIGHTH WARD SETTLEMENT.

The attempt of the Eighth Ward Settlement, at 922 Locust St., to conduct Sunday evening religious services for its colored neighbors met with so little



504 So. Front St. 502
Roosevelt House of the College Settlement of
Philadelphia (502)

Special School No. 6 of the Board of Education (504)

ward Sts. and a girls' club at 403 S. Taney St., lays decided emphasis on religious training. The work is direct-

success in its early days, that further effort in that line has been abandoned for the present. This house had special interest because it was built, is supported and controlled by one man; and because it is dealing largely with the negro element, in which many of the most difficult educational and social problems are presented in acute and almost impossible forms. The familiar cry for more space is heard here as elsewhere. The kindergarten room, the gymnasium, the study class room and

ments whose chief purpose it is to strengthen the religious and spiritual life of their neighbors, St. Martha's Home, 8th St. and Snyder Ave., and the Second Church Settlement at 4th and Callowhill Sts. The latter has this year been increased by the gift of a house on N. 8th St. near Wood St. Its object is stated to be "to win the boys and girls to Christ and intellectual and social enjoyment." For the people living near, largely German Lutheran, Jewish and Catholic, there are numer-



A Possible Playground and Library Site. Wanted: \$15,000 for its purchase—The College Settlement

the audience room are one and the same.

THE YOUNG WOMEN'S UNION.

The Young Women's Union, a philanthropic organization of Jewish women, has at 5th and Bainbridge Sts. a building in which it maintains a day nursery and shelter and carries on various clubs and classes. Recently readjustments in the use of the rooms has been begun which looks toward the development of a resident household and toward bringing the work more in line with settlement principles and ideals.

CHURCH SETTLEMENT.

Under Episcopalian and Presbyterian auspices respectively are two settle-

ous classes for study and hand work, women's meetings, a men's reading room and special religious services on Sunday. As at the College Settlement there is a probation officer in residence.

St. Martha's House was opened by Bishop Whittaker in 1901. As workers in the name of St. Martha the residents give industrial work a prominent place. Trained nurses have been in residence since 1903. In her description of the work carried on the Deaconess-in-charge writes: "We wish to emphasize the fact that our many agencies are the means by which we reach the people. We seek to serve, so that in nursing or teaching, in visiting or in practical talks we can influence them to care about the

church and her sacraments. In this way many are brought to baptism, reported to the clergy of the different neighboring parishes, taken to Sunday school or church and finally brought into full membership. The house mother and one other resident "teach Bible classes and have charge of church societies, and the constant aim of all is to influence people to renew their allegiance to the church from which so many have strayed, and to have their children baptized." The St. Martha's House constituency, for the most part German and Irish, is characterized as "respectable poor," whose poverty when extreme is the result of misfortune.

THE LIGHT HOUSE.

In Kensington, far to the northeast, is the Light House, which extends opportunity to men, factory and mill workers, to a degree reached by no other Settlement in the city. It was opened in 1895 as a counter attraction to the saloons, but its scope has broadened until today it is the center of a neighborhood Settlement where seven workers reside. The Restaurant has invaded the field of the saloon lunch and is a little more than self supporting. In the Social Rooms the men who have membership tickets at twenty five cents per month can spend their free time. Wednesday and Sunday evenings Gospel meetings are offered, on pay nights lectures and concerts. The Baldwin Day Nursery and the Boys' Club of the Church Club of Philadelphia with its handsomely equipped club house are under one management with the Light house. Among the women and girls work has been developed which calls aloud for another building in which it may be housed. A farm on the Delaware within easy reach affords out-of-door pleasure and profit to men, women and children.

MADONNA HOUSE.

The latest addition to the Philadelphia Settlements is the Madonna House, opened under Catholic auspices last year at 814 S. 10th St. Its work

is among Italians and its aim is avowedly that of teaching its people more than they now know of the religion which they profess or have inherited.

MISSION-SETTLEMENTS.

A few general reflections, in closing, on the characteristic of the Settlements in Philadelphia. In the main they are modified missions. In some cases they have been organized to meet mission enterprises of denominations alien to the religion of the Settlement backers where such enterprises were felt to be unduly influential. In the complex nexus of varied populations, inherited forms of ecclesiastical organization and differing faiths foreign missions may be said to have given a strong stimulus to home missions; for the essential distinction lies not in the geographical separation of the missionary's native land from his field of labor. It is found rather in the differences of race and inheritance and capacity which in our American cities exist side by side in the same quarter, the same street, the same house, even in the same family when propinquity allows individual attraction to work its hasty conclusions in the mingling of incongruous stocks. The foreign mission is that one which seeks to substitute one inheritance of faith and church organization for another; the home mission is that one which seeks to renew a lost or weakened church allegiance among people of its own general kind. Both these types may be illustrated among Philadelphia Mission-Settlements.

Perhaps because of this rather narrow basis of motive the Philadelphia Settlement houses are noticeably weak in their relation to municipal and state politics. They command the effective services of but few men and are hardly taken account of as factors of influence by the ward bosses, the City Hall and the Legislature at Harrisburg. They have before them an unlimited field for development on this line of public service. Rapid growth here is not within the expectation of the most hopeful; corruption and contentment are too

general to be quickly transformed, but some growth there has been and will be. Among the Settlements and throughout the city "Settlement work"—thought of as made up of occupations with kindergartens, clubs, classes, boys' athletics, mothers' meetings, etc.—is

more considered of as the distinctive characteristic of Settlements than the "Settlement spirit," whose larger teachings of simplicity, democracy and service are but dimly apprehended and ill expressed as yet by many of the most ardent "Settlement workers."

Hungry Children in New York Public Schools

By E. Stagg Whitin

An officer standing by the door of a church bazar the other evening observed that two school boys, one of about six, and the other eight years, stopped and read the sign. "Bizzar, all f-r-e-e," read the elder. "Gist," remarked the younger, "it's free," "heh Jack, let's go in." "Free!" rejoined the older boy with a superior air. "Don't ye know, you can't get nothin' for nothin'?"

This little incident is characteristic of the attitude of many of our poorer school children, who have learned from their experience on the street some of the most wholesome lessons of life. Careful must our public schools be, that these simple lessons are not limited to the street, and that the spirit of graft does not animate the children of the school and playground. Graft is "somethin' for nuthin'," and the poorer public school children know it, fear it and despise it. I believe it is to the credit of the schools that there was no mad rush for free breakfast, when the Salvation Army hung out its sign recently in several of the East-Side schools "Free breakfast to public school children." The similarity of this sign with "Free Lunch," with which our school children are very familiar, may have suggested visions of bar-tenders distributing free lunch to drunken customers and free kicks to hungry children, but I think it did not. It seemed graft to some—some feared it on account of religious scruples, but I feel sure that most despised it as charity. I doubt if there is a place in the world where there are more signs displayed of "free to all" than along the Bowery and throughout the East Side.

Settlement workers know how quick the children are to find what limitations are put upon the freedom of such distribution, whether it be in the line of conversion or the setting up of drinks. Even lodging alone is not given away, except as Heaven may be had for the asking. "Nuttin' for nuttin'" these children know is the only stamp of the genuine article, and both the Organized Charity and the Settlements have long since recognized this fact.

So it would seem to me that the Salvation Army has proved nothing by its experiment as to the need of breakfast among the New York public school children. On the other hand, it is well nigh impossible for any single person to investigate satisfactorily this subject. The parent is often the only person who knows whether the child has been fed or not, and seldom does the best mother know whether her child has been properly fed or not. The proof of the pudding lies in the eating—the proof of the proper breakfast lies in the condition of the child before and after feeding in the school. This feeding must have continued long enough to have become a habit with the child, and the conditions of cleanliness, order and decency, under which it is supplied, must have ceased to be a novelty. When the public schools of our City have fed the children as long as the French schools have, and the teachers observed the results, then, and then only, will we know whether the children need feeding in our public schools or not.

In lieu of a more universal application of this practice in our public schools, from which to draw conclusions, it may be of interest at the present time to look

into an experiment that has been tried for three years at Speyer School; the practice and experimental school under Teachers College, Columbia University. For three years now the children of the lower grades have been supplied with crackers and milk at ten o'clock in the morning, and the teachers are unanimous in the statement that the children are all happier and more able to work than if breakfast was not served. Before this experiment was started a study was made by the teachers in conjunction with the parents in the Mothers' Club of what the children were eating. The result showed that the breakfast consisted of bread and tea, cake (doughnuts) and coffee, bread and molasses, griddle cakes, beer and pretzels. In a few instances some kind of breakfast food was served. In every instance the articles were of a most inferior quality. In some cases it was well cooked, oftener it was not. Sometimes the children ran off without any breakfast—mother had gotten up too late, or the milk was burned—the beer was flat, or the morning air was pleasanter than the stench within. It is hard to find out the trouble; it varies in almost every case and nobody to blame and nobody knows. But one thing is certain, by ten o'clock the little one is hungry; yes, well nigh half ill. Do you blame the child for being irritable? Maybe it has had too much; too many buckwheat cakes. One little boy I teach lives on pastry at home, for his mother keeps the bake shop. If you doubt it, you have but to look at him, or better try to teach him. But one thing is certain that ten o'clock finds all ready to bow the heads and sing the grace, and then with perfect manners and a true social spirit happy children break bread together.

But who pays for it? It is a legitimate question. Many of the children of our public schools are very poor. Yes, but if you will play candy-man awhile, you will find that these little ones have really more spending money than the rich children. This may seem a rash statement but it is true as ex-

perience has shown in almost all cases. At Speyer School the children who can bring the money that was given for candy and contribute it and seldom is there any deficit. The breakfast has not only made happy and bright children, but has done more than an ordinary lesson period to teach them many of the most essential things in life. These lessons may be varied according to the age, and it is worth something for the older ones to know that even oatmeal can be served at a penny a bowl. There is no graft here; no cry of charity; no fear of conversion to any creed. "Thus the hungry are fed," a good woman remarked with a sigh of relief. But all young children are hungry. The early breakfast is not a factor at ten or eleven o'clock, and why should we worry about it? Maybe there are sixty thousand children hungry at nine o'clock; it is hard to prove, and harder to deny; but one thing is certain, that by ten or ten-thirty there are many times that number who are hungry and will be better for some good milk and crackers or oatmeal, instead of the bag of "dope" candy or penny soda water, provided they get it as they get their candy—with their own pennies. The system has proved successful in France. Why not adopt it here? The equipment may be an item of cost which the ever-poor Board of Education may not be able to supply. But why can't the Salvation Army supply it, if it is so anxious to do good? This will banish the spirit of graft. "Nuttin for nuttin" must be the motto, and soon every young child will be assured of one proper meal a day.

Eddie, the baddest boy in one grade, was invited to our resident's table at Speyer school. The way in which the potatoes began to fly proved that the hungry expression which for some time had been on his face was the result of some years of family trouble. That afternoon Eddie dug into his books as he went at the potatoes, but the close observer might have noticed that his hand was quietly stroking his stomach and patting it with great contentment. Can we doubt that systematic feeding will make the teachers' work easier?

Women's Clubs and Public Charities

Illinois Federation Committee

Julia C. Lathrop, Editor

Now is the season when Legislative sessions are drawing toward their close and when reformers are engaged in sadly picking up the pieces of the various symmetrical and shapely bills which they earlier constructed and sent forth with confident pride. Sometimes, alas, there is not even a piece left to pick up. Among such complete wrecks one of the most significant to us is the bill for an industrial school for girls which was defeated in the Minnesota Legislature. The bill was urged by the Minnesota Federation of Women's Clubs which succeeded in arousing a high degree of public interest and sympathy. The press was in favor of the measure. Its provisions were conceded to be entirely sound. It provided for a training school for girls absolutely apart from that for boys, (an indisputable necessity) for the management of the school by women and for a visiting board of women to report to the State Board of Control. We are told that no fault was found with these or other details of the measure; but that the defeat is due entirely to what might be called "local selfishness;" i. e. the pride of the town in which the present joint institution for boys and girls is situated, and which became powerful in the Legislature through the personal influence of a representative of that type of vigorous "good fellow" which is unfortunately responsible for many of the worst injuries to the public good.

The Public Charities Committee held a conference Friday morning, April 28 in the rooms of the Chicago Woman's Club, to consider the future policy of the committee and to discuss what methods of work might be most useful to the county poor houses and other public charitable institutions. Delegates were present from 52 clubs, representing various parts of the state. The dis-

cussion was animated and was continued in an extra session after luncheon. Among the speakers were the chairman, Mrs. Frank Gates Allen of Moline, Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Mrs. P. P. Heywood, Mrs. James L. Frake, Miss Addams, and Mrs. Henrotin of Chicago, Mrs. Clara P. Bourland of Peoria and Mrs. Pettitt of Ottawa. The success of the State Charities Aid Association of New York was cited as a most encouraging proof of the useful results which can be obtained by well organized volunteer bodies. This Association of men and women was organized by Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler in 1872 and has to its credit a large share in such constructive work as the present system of New York in caring for all her insane in state institutions and the admirable laws governing the administration of public relief which are on the New York statute books. The State Charities Aid Association is empowered by law to visit public charitable institutions and to report to the State Board of Charities and the State Lunacy Commission. The question of the care of the insane called out much interest and it was decided to hold another conference in the autumn to consider public care of the insane and to invite the Superintendents of the state hospitals for the insane to attend. The precise date was left to the decision of the chairman of the committee, Mrs. Allen. Various phases of the care of children were discussed. Mrs. Falconer spoke feelingly of the loneliness of the employees in many institutions referring especially to those for the care of children and suggested the proffering of social courtesies to the women whose lives are necessarily so isolated and monotonous.

The chair was directed to name a special committee from Cook County to arrange the visiting of institutions to which Chicago children or adults are

sent. This committee is expected to co-ordinate the visiting of the various clubs, to see that all the various institutions are visited and that reports are made for the future guidance of the General Committee. The work of securing visitors for the state at large was left in the hands of the Chairman, Mrs. Allen.

It was shown that many clubs are already doing much intelligent and effective work; but much remains to be done and that great improvement may be effected by the "moral force of much visiting," as Mrs. Frake said. The Secretary was ordered to telegraph to Springfield urging the passage of the measure to provide special training for state employees at the State University. It was announced that the Public Char-

ities Committee has published in a small book the *Suggestions for Visitors to County Poor Houses and other Charitable Institutions* which have appeared in THE COMMONS. The book will be sold, postpaid, for 25 cents and can be obtained from Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Unity Bldg., Chicago. Miss Addams said that the passage of the civil service law for charitable institutions would open a new profession for young men and women of humanitarian order. The entire discussion was marked by an absence of censorious critical spirit and by a conviction that—signalized by the passage of a civil service law—the present time should mark the beginning of a new era in the scientific and humane care of public dependents in Illinois.

The Influence of Trade Unions on Immigrants

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter to President Roosevelt taken from the latest Bulletin of the Department of Labor, is the result of a study "so interesting and, in a way, so novel" that, as Mr. Carroll D. Wright therefore gave the results to the President "quite in extenso," we have copied it entire for our readers.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

Referring to your letter of August 4, transmitting a communication from Mary E. McDowell, appearing in the Chicago Daily News of Friday, July 29, and to your letter of August 10, inclosing an editorial from the Chicago Tribune, entitled "The Union and the Immigrant," and asking that in the investigation conducted relative to the meat strike in Chicago the statements in these two inclosures be investigated, I have the honor to report that they have been taken up by our agent, Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, with the following results:

The article of Miss McDowell and the editorial relate practically to one supposed influence of the trade unions among the foreign element employed in the packing business in Chicago. This influence is exceedingly interesting and throws a valuable side light on the whole question involved. The immigrant is, in the first instance, a wage-reducer, either directly or indirectly, although the extent of his influence upon wages can not well be stated; but as a prospective wage-reducer he is met by the trade union in self-defense, just as the trade union meets female and child labor, except in this, the union seeks to organize the immigrants, while it seeks by legislation to prohibit or limit the

work of women and children—that is, the union seeks the aid of the State to prevent wage reductions by means of female and child labor, and it seeks by organizing the immigrants to prevent reduction of wages by immigration. It makes no claim of undertaking any charitable or primarily civic education among the immigrants, but the secondary effect of the union on the immigrant is distinctively civic in character. It is the first, and for a time the only, point at which he touches any influences outside his clan. Even the progressive forces inside the nationality lines consider the immigrant hopeless and seek only to reach his children—as, for instance, the officers of the Polish National Alliance direct their effort toward getting the Poles to send their children to American public schools and to have them mix up with and become a part of the whole people. The trade union, however, must deal with the immigrant himself, and the immigrant, when he learns that the union wants to raise his wages, decrease the hours of labor, etc., begins to see the necessity of learning the English language, of understanding the institutions he hears talked about in the union meetings, and other matters which interest him.

At the risk of taking up too much of your time, let me state a bit of history. From

1880 to 1886 the nationalities employed in the stock yards, in the order of their numerical importance, were Irish, Americans, Germans, and a few Scotch. The great strike of 1886 disrupted the only organization of workmen in the yards—that of the Knights of Labor—and after the failure of the strike a notable exodus of Americans and the more active men among the Irish began. Whether this was entirely voluntary, or in part resulted from activity in the strike, is not germane to this subject. The Poles began to come into the yards in 1886, after the settlement of the strike, but not as strike breakers. This appears to have been a voluntary immigration, increasing in volume until by 1890 the most of the unskilled occupants were filled by Poles, who by 1894 had practical control of the common labor.

The Bohemians began to affect notice by the situation in 1894, going first into the inferior positions, which they shared with the Poles. There were two minor strikes between 1890 and 1894, which in a measure aided in bringing about this result. There was some movement upward, among the Poles—that is, from lower to higher occupations, but not so marked as among Bohemians. The Bohemians, coming in later, began under the Poles—that is, took the lower positions as the Poles went up, and divided the entire unskilled labor possibilities with the Poles. The Bohemians, however, soon outstripped the Poles in the movement upward from unskilled to skilled occupations.

The strike of 1894 unsettled these movements temporarily. Negro labor was employed to break the strike and has been an element in the situation ever since. In 1880 but one Negro was employed in the yards, and he worked in Armour's killing gang. While few of the strike breakers of 1894 were retained, yet that event marks the real beginning of the employment of Negroes. At the beginning of the present strike some 500 Negroes worked in the yards, many of whom belonged to the union.

After the strike of 1894 was settled the Bohemians were introduced more rapidly, and this continued up to 1896. In 1895 the Lithuanians began coming in, followed by Slovaks in 1896, and this continued steadily until 1899, when the number began to increase rapidly. Two years ago an enormous influx of Lithuanians, Slovaks, and Russian Poles occurred, swamping the labor market in the yards. This was caused largely because of the threatening war between Russia and Japan, and the consequent rush of people to escape compulsory military duty. This has been appreciably checked within the last six or eight months.

The proportion of workmen of the various nationalities in the yards at the beginning of the present strike (July 12) was, approximately: Irish, 2 5 per cent.; Americans and Scotch, about 2 per cent.; Germans, 15 per cent.; Poles, 20 per cent.; Bohemians, 20 per cent. The remainder were Lithuanians,

Slovaks, a very few Krains, and, among the most recent arrivals, Finns and Greeks, the latter, however, not being appreciable in number. No attention has been paid in this investigation to immigrants having a representation fewer in number than the Lithuanians and Slavonians.

Of these nationalities, excluding the Irish and Germans, which are not here considered as immigrants, the Bohemians are the most progressive, and have the industrial advantage in this, that many of the foremen are Bohemians and give preference to their nationality when taking on new men. There is no apparent surplus of Irish, Germans, Americans, or Bohemians in the labor market of the district affected, the surplus being composed of Poles, Slovaks and Lithuanians.

Among all the immigrants mentioned, except the Irish and Germans, the clan spirit is at first all-powerful. The Bohemians, while Catholics, are Bohemian Catholics, and the Poles are Polish Catholics. This is even more true of the Lithuanians and the Slovaks, who are the most clannish of all. No doubt difference in language has much to do with this, but it is by no means the most serious feature. Each nationality has not only its own church, but its own school system, the Lithuanian schools making no pretense of teaching English, some of the teachers not being able even to speak it. The Slavs and Galicians have not as yet opened schools of their own. While the religion of these different nationalities may be said to be one, the associations are along exclusive nationality lines. They settle or rent properties by districts, and in branching out to occupy more territory one side of the street will first become Lithuanian for a block or so, and then the other side of the street will be occupied by the same nationality. The single men invariably board only in families of their own clan. Language has something to do with this, but really less than might be apparent on first consideration, and less than might seem to be true. When organizing building and loan associations, it is done along strictly clan lines. The Bohemians have four of this class of associations, the Poles three, and the Lithuanians one. The Slavs as yet have none. There are other clannish distinctions, as Lithuanian Republican clubs, Lithuanian Democratic clubs, Bohemian Socialist clubs, Bohemian Democratic clubs, everywhere and always along the strictest lines of nationality.

It is currently reported that before the organization of the union this condition occasionally threatened riots along clan lines, owing to the fact that foremen showed such preference for men of their own clan. The union was organized by trades and departments, and the officials refused to permit nationality lines to be recognized. In the sheep butchers' union are to be found all the men connected with sheep killing, regardless of nationalities. So severe was the fight made upon this plan by the clan leaders—

those who drew emoluments or secured social prestige as leaders of the various strictly clan societies—and so seemingly insurmountable was the objection raised by the Lithuanians to the union that in 1900, when the Lithuanians were first organized, it was permitted in one case to organize a Lithuanian union. The experiment, however, was a signal failure. No subsequent experiments have been permitted.

The unions in the stock yards are controlled by the Irish, ably assisted by the Germans. As a Bohemian or a Pole learns the language and develops, he is elected business agent or other official. In the pork butchers' union, for instance, there are about 1,800 members, 600 of whom are Irish, 600 Germans, 300 Poles, and 300 Lithuanians and Slavs. This union recently elected a Pole as president of the local. In their business meetings the motions made, resolutions read, and speeches delivered are usually interpreted in five languages, though in some locals in only three. All business, however, is transacted primarily in English, although any member may speak to any motion in the language he best understands, his words being rendered into English for the minutes of the meetings and into all the languages necessary for the information of members. It is here that the practical utility of learning English is first brought home forcibly to the immigrant. In all other of his associations not only does his own language suffice, but, for reasons that can be well understood, shrewd leaders minimize the importance of learning any other. (The only notable exception to this is the National Polish Alliance, and even here only the Polish language is used. There is no apparent influence exerted, however, to create the impression that the Polish is all-sufficient.)

In his trade union the Slav mixes with the Lithuanian, the German, and the Irish, and this is the only place they do mix until by virtue of this intercourse and this mixing, clannishness is to a degree destroyed, and a social mixing along other lines comes naturally into play. Not only is the Amalgamated Meat Cutters' Union an Americanizing influence in the stock yards, but for the Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks it is the only Americanizing influence, so far as could be determined in this investigation. It is true this Americanizing is being done by the Irish and the Germans, but it is Americanizing nevertheless, and is being done as rapidly as the material to work on will permit, and very well indeed. Again, the reaction is good in its results. The feeling among the Irish against the Dutch and the Polack is rapidly dying out. As the Irish in Chicago express it, "Association together and industrial necessity have shown us that, however it may go against the grain, we must admit that common interests and brotherhood must include the Polack and the Sheeny." It is also admitted that when the speech of the Lithuanian is translated in the meeting of the trade union the Irish and the German see in it the

workings of a fairly good mind. Some of the best suggestions come from Bohemians, and mutual respect takes the place of mutual hatred.

The investigation disclosed the influence of the union in teaching the immigrant the nature of the American form of government. The records of this office, independent of this investigation, show that during an investigation of building and loan associations a few years ago information from the Bohemian, Polish, and other clannish associations of that character could be obtained only through the services of an interpreter. It was found that as soon as a Bohemian or a Pole heard the word "government," or "government agent," he closed his mouth, and it was impossible to secure any information.

This has been true in other investigations, notably in collecting family budgets; but with an intelligent interpreter, using their own language, the nature of the work was explained, and no further difficulty experienced. The union is breaking down this trait of character in the foreigners of the nationalities mentioned. This it is doing not as a matter of philanthropy, but from a selfish necessity. The immigrant must be taught that he must stand straight up on his own feet; that the ward politician is dependent on him—on his vote, etc.—and not he on the ward politician. In this way he first learns that he is a part of the Government, and while this is done by indirection, in a large sense, there is no other force that is doing it at all. The Pole, the Bohemian, the Lithuanian, the Slovak, and to a much lesser degree the Galician, have inherited the feeling that somehow government is a thing iminal to their natural development—a power forcing itself upon them from afar; an intrusive power for repression, taxation, punishment only; a thing which they must stand in awe of, obey, pay tribute to, and wish that it had not come among their people, even if they did not secretly hate it—a thing, in short, which ought not to be. Being weaker than it they must be silent in its presence, and if forced to speak, lie, as for them to tell the truth would mean imprisonment or death.

It is not necessary for these things to be true in order that the illiterate peasants should have believed them for generations. Seventy-five per cent. of the stock yards immigrants are of the peasant and agricultural laborer class of Europe, and comparatively few of them can read or write in their own language. To make such a people feel that the Government is their friend, that they are a part of it, that development and education, not repression, are its objects and its purposes with and for them, is an enormous task, and one which a trade union single handed and alone can not be expected to accomplish by indirection in a few years, with the flood of new ignorance that has been brought in by the high tide of immigration into the stock yards.

In every trade union, however conservative, there are members who will occasion-

ally get the floor and advise their hearers to vote high wages and shorter hours at the ballot box. As the groups of Slovaks gather around after the business is over to have these things explained to them, many get their first real idea of what the ballot and election day mean, and the relation of these to the Government itself. In their own home countries the two essential, if not only, elements of the peasant and agricultural laborer's mind is to believe and obey, or follow. Advantage is taken of this fact here by clan politicians, as well as the clan leader in every department. Once the leader can make these people believe in him, he thinks for the entire group, and insists that their duty consists in following his lead implicitly. Necessarily, the trade union, in order to get them to break away from the leader that opposed the union on industrial lines, would be compelled to urge them to consider their own personal and group interests as wage-workers; to think and act for themselves along lines where they knew the real conditions better than any one else, and certainly better than their leader in a child insurance society, or something else as remote. Here, too, are the first germs of what may be called the departmental thinking implanted in their minds—that is, that while a leader may be worthy of their confidence in one thing, it does not necessarily follow that he is so in some other class of interests.

It is doubtful if any organization other than a trade union could accomplish these things, for only the bread and butter necessity would be potent enough as an influence to bring these people out of the fixed forms and crystallizations of life into which they have been compressed. Certain it is that no other organization is attempting to do this work, at least not by amalgamation, which is the only way assimilation can be secured among these various foreign elements. The drawing of these people away from their petty clique leaders and getting them to think for themselves upon one line of topics, namely, the industrial conditions and the importance of trade organization, result in a mental uplift. The only way they can pull a Slovak away from his leader is to pull him up until he is gotten above his leader along the lines of thought they are working on. The very essence of the trade argument on the immigrant is—unconsciously again—an uplifting and an Americanizing influence. The unionist begins to talk better wages, better working conditions, better opportunities, better homes, better clothes. Now, one can not eternally argue "better" in the ears of any man, no matter how restricted the particular "better" harped on, without producing something of a psychological atmosphere of "better" in all his thought and life activities. If better food, better wages, or even better beer, is the only kind of "better" one might get a Slovak or a Lithuanian to think about, then the only way to improve him is to inject the thought of "better" into the only crevice to be found in his stupidity.

Of course, many object to attempts to improve these people because the immigrants from Lithuania, Slavonia, and Russian Poland are better off here than they ever were or could be in their own countries; that, left to themselves, they would not only be perfectly satisfied, but delighted with their improved condition; that the union must first produce discontent and dissatisfaction with what would otherwise be entirely satisfactory before it can get these immigrants even to talk about joining the union. Again, it is urged that at home these people do not expect to eat as good food as other people, nor to dress as well, nor to live in as good houses; that, as peasants, they never compare themselves with other people or classes of people.

In opposition to all these things, the union begins by teaching the immigrant that his wages are not so good as another man's, doing practically the same kind of work, while it neglects to tell him he is not doing it so well, so intelligently, nor so much of it perhaps; but the union gets him to compare himself not with what he was in Lithuania, but with some German or Irish family, and then "stings him with the assertion that he has as much right to live that way as anybody." The union attempts to show the immigrant that he can live better only by getting more money, and that by joining the union he will get it. If left alone he would be entirely satisfied, perhaps, with what he was getting before. It is perfectly true, probably, that in most cases the union does not care for the Lithuanian in the first instance, the real purpose being to protect their own wages by getting the immigrants to demand high wages for their labor. So later on some degree of fellowship is engendered, but self-defense is the real motive.

The union point of view is that for a Lithuanian peasant to be contented, satisfied, and happy with the Lithuanian standard of living in America is a crime, a crime not only against himself but against America and everyone who wishes to make individual and social development possible in America, and that whatever the union's motives for creating discontent, the fact that it does create a discontent among the immigrants—which is the first step toward their improvement and ultimate Americanization—renders the union so far a public benefactor.

Many persons were interviewed in securing information along these lines—bankers, professional men, and all classes. One gentleman, in the banking business in the stock yards district for many years, stated that the Slavonians and Galicians have been buying homes within the last eighteen months to a most remarkable and unprecedented extent, and that this is in a measure true of the Lithuanians, but not to such a marked degree. He testifies that the union has given these people a sense of security in their positions. By mixing up the nationalities in the union meeting it has made them acquainted with each other and dispelled an undefined dread

of pending race war or struggle between nationalities in the yards. Formerly most of the Slovak and Lithuanian immigrants were a floater class. About the only ones who return to their homes now are the Galicians, in whose country a more or less representative form of government prevails. Others testified in a similar way, although some thought the union had done little except to agitate for higher, higher, and higher wages, regardless of economic conditions.

On the police side of the problem, a sergeant of the twentieth precinct, that known as "back of the yards," which is crowded with the Bohemian and Polish elements, stated that there had been the greatest improvement since the union was formed, in 1900—less disorder, better living, more intelligence, and more understanding of American institutions and laws; that they employ fewer policemen in the district, and that less crime is committed than prior to 1900.

The studies of the various nationalities involved in the present meat strike brings out some valuable points relative to the restriction of immigration. Among them there seems to be an unalterable opposition to laws excluding those who can not read and write in their own language, and their argument is that the peasant population of central and eastern Europe, from which they

came, have more rugged morals, simpler lives, and fewer vices than the inhabitants of the cities and towns who can read and write, as a rule. They consider themselves not responsible morally or politically for the fact that Russia has fewer schools than Illinois and spends less money on education in a year than does that State. They claim that their ignorance is not of the kind that is synonymous with vice or with crime; that they are as innocent as ignorant, whereas a far worse town and city population would be admitted without question under such laws. They have some peculiar ideas about prohibiting absolutely any immigration for a specific term of years and then allowing only a certain percentage to come in each year thereafter; but the main point they make is as to the illiteracy of the peasant class, the most desirable we can secure, and the literacy of the criminal classes of the great cities, which could come in under such restrictive legislation. Such things are only a part of this study brought out by your two letters, and the study has seemed to me so interesting and, in a way, so novel, that I have taken courage to give you the results quite in extenso.

I am, with the highest regards, very respectfully, CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner.

At the Institute of Social Science and Arts, Chicago

Course in Public Charities

Outline of Lectures given during April, 1905

APRIL 5.

JULIA C. LATHROP.

Topic: Types of organization of State Charities.

I. State Boards of Charities or Control exercise power under three types of organization in the 28 states where some form of central oversight now exists.

(1) Powers purely visitorial and supervisory exercised by a central state board, appointed by the Governor, over various classes of public and private charities, each institution or society having its own individual administration. Such central boards as well as the local trustees of institutions usually unsalaried. New York excellent example this class. Its poor law and state charities law, both enacted in 1896, at time of securing new state charter are doubtless the most carefully considered and comprehensive rules in this country.

(a) The State Charities law gives the Board of Charities supervision over all institutions, charitable and reformatory (excepting institutions for the insane and certain reformatories) whether state, county or city, incorporated or not, private or otherwise.

(b) The poor law distinctly modern in spirit, recognizes settlements, yet forbids compulsory removal of poor for relief and provides for voluntary transportation to other state or to foreign country. Forbids presence in poor house of child between 2 and 16 years. The administration of this law is under the supervision of the State Board of Charities.

(c) The State Charities Aid Association is empowered to inspect all public charities whether state, county or city and is ordered to report to the State Board of Charities.

(2) Powers of administration in certain particulars added to the super-

visory functions of a central board. The Massachusetts State Board of Charities furnishes a conspicuous illustration. To its general supervisory powers over the charitable institutions (not those for the insane) and over the administration of the poor law is added the administrative work of caring for the state minor wards. Indiana has also lodged the administration of the public care of children with the State Board of Charities.

(3) The state board is charged with complete administrative powers over all the public charities and the local boards of trustees are abolished.

The Iowa State Board of Control is an example of this method. The Board consists of 3 members, appointed for 6 years terms, salaried, and devoting their time fully to the institutions. The Board manages the charitable and penal institutions. It appoints the superintendents who in turn appoint all subordinates. The law provides for entire freedom from political interference with the institutions and demands co-operation among institutions of the same class, safeguards purchasing, requires scientific research.

(4) Marked tendency in the more populous states place the care of the insane under a separate board.

a. In New York, the State Lunacy Commission, a salaried board of 3 persons, controls the state care of the Insane.
b. In Massachusetts the State Board of Insanity has supervision over the care of the insane.

(5) Some Essentials of a good system.

- a. No system can work well unless free from political influences. Laws in New York, Massachusetts and Iowa recognize this necessity.
- b. Business functions to be safeguarded, and conducted on the principles of economy and effectiveness which have approved themselves in private business of similar magnitude.
- c. Public interest must be enlisted and maintained and public opinion must be informed as to the importance of the work.
- d. The service must invite to permanent employment men and women of high character and of special training.
- e. An ideal system combines in management disinterested inspection and the responsible services of salaried experts.

AUTHORITIES.

Charity Legislation in New York, 1904. Reports Massachusetts and New York State Boards of Charities. Reports Iowa State Board of Control and Wisconsin State Board of Control. Reports New York Lunacy Commission and Massachusetts Committee on Insanity. Reports National Conference of Charities.

APRIL 12.

DR. V. H. PODSTATA.

Topic: Care of Epileptics.

Definition: A disease of the nervous system characterized by periodical attacks involving physical or mental faculties, usually both.

Some historical data: Disease as old as history. Great men not excepted: Caesar, Napoleon I, Nares. Some old time explanations and remedies.

The present knowledge as to Morbid conditions underlying: The changes in the brain. The tissue changes in the body.

The great causes: Heredity, alcohol, injuries, age, sex, etc.

Description of symptoms: The major and the minor attacks. The Jacksonian type. The periodical blues. The periodical confusion and dreamlike condition. The periodical semi-delirious anxiety. The delusions. The pre- and post-epileptic insanity. The characteristic epileptic dementia.

Care of the epileptic: The surgical methods. The medical care. The food regulation. The salt withdrawal. The elimination. The regulation of habits of living. The fresh air exercise. The suitable employment. The suitable surroundings. The epileptic at hospital for feeble-minded. The epileptic at the asylum for the insane. The epileptic in prison. The epileptic at home. The epileptic in colony. The several colonies now established.

The prospects of the epileptic: Results obtained at Craig Colony somewhat encouraging.

APRIL 19.

DR. SANGER BROWN.

Topic: The Insane.

Public Care of Acute and Transitory Cases and the Problem of Commitment.

- 1. Legal Commitment not needed in all cases.

If only the cases are considered which have to be certified to or if it be taken for granted that all cases of acute insanity dependent upon public care should be committed, the subject is more circumscribed than it would otherwise be.

According to my observation and experience in Chicago, more and more cases are being treated in General Hospitals without any legal formalities whatever, and indeed in quite a large proportion of cases the necessity or even desirability of a commitment is at no time apparent.

2. General Hospital Treatment Advantageous.

To have proper provisions for the treatment of such cases in General Hospitals would be of great advantage to the patient; and students, nurses and the general public would gain a more intelligent understanding of the disease. The objection to it is the great expense of providing and maintaining suitable accommodations and administering them. Generally it would cost perhaps ten times as much to treat from start to finish a case of acute insanity as would have to be expended in caring for a case of pneumonia or typhoid fever.

3. Insanity not properly treated by restraints and drugs.

Insanity is not properly treated by keeping the patient strapped to bed and stupefied with drugs, though in general Hospitals without special provisions this method is not unusual and in fact is about all that can be done, if the principle of the greatest good to the greatest number is enforced.

4. Questions of legal commitment.

As a concession to the general lack of information on the subject let it be assumed that all cases of acute insanity presenting a favorable prospect of recovery if promptly and properly treated in a general hospital ought to be legally committed. How may this best be effected? This brings up a discussion of the methods of commitment. These have steadily improved as the public has become enlightened on the subject of insanity.

At one extreme is the law requiring every case to be brought into open court and "tried." It is intended to secure the safety of the sane only. At the other is a law requiring only the sworn statement of one or two physicians. Both of these have many palpable objections and the best laws lie somewhere between them.

5. The laws and practices of different states compared.

6. Best systems for populous centers.

APRIL 26.

MISS LATHROP.

Topic: Types of Organization of Public Charities Abroad.

Significant features of charitable systems in certain foreign countries, compared with American methods.

I.

A. Poor Relief:—In England is directed by the Local Government Board which is the central authority of the poor law system. It is appointed by Government. It issues mandatory orders having the power of law, it regulates local administration, audits local accounts, inspects workhouses, visits boards of guardians and has power to discharge all officials employed by the local authorities. It has a corps of salaried inspectors. Local matters are directly administered by the Boards of Poor-Law Guardians, the country is divided into poor law unions—now about 650,—each in charge of an elective board of poor law guardians, members serve for three years each without salary—women are eligible. The functions of the Local Government Board have been divided, are specialized: e. g.—The Lunacy Commission for England has general supervision of the care of the insane, the Metropolitan Asylum Board has charge of the London poor law hospitals for the sick. (Government Famine Relief in India noteworthy for magnitude and difficulty.)

B. Poor Relief in Germany chiefly left to control of the several states. The administration out-door relief has remarkable system,—the work of unpaid citizens as visitors and members of dispensing boards especially important.

C. Medical Aspects of poor relief noteworthy in Germany. The relation of hospitals, dispensaries, etc. to the medical teaching of the state universities gives a high medical standard, and responsible service.

II.

Growing recognition of importance of public preventive agencies: e. g.—Workingmen's insurance, compulsory and voluntary in various forms, examples of special interest shown by Germany, Austria, France, Belgium,—thrift agencies as Postal Savings banks, protection of working men by employers' liability acts, health protection by sanitary housing: e. g.:—work of London County Council, in building tenements.

III.

Note more complete development public institutional care for defectives and costlier equipment of public institutions for insane in U. S.,—lack of correlation with universities, lack of preventive measures.

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Henderson, Modern Methods of Charity.
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Willoughby's Workingmen's Insurance.
French and English Official Report of Postal Savings Banks.

Notes and Articles of Social and Industrial Interest.

Union Allegiance Not Blind

"The Union—may it always be right—but right or wrong, the 'Union' is happily not the spirit of the most intelligent and influential advocates of the cause of organized labor. In condemnation of the recent notorious strike in the New York subway, The United Mineworkers Journal, and the Coopers International Journal are only a few of the labor papers which joined with the Motorman and Conductor (the official organ of the street railway men) in blaming the subway engineers for violating their contract and disobeying the International officers by calling the strike. The *Coopers Journal* concisely says:

"The difficulty grew out of action on the part of the engineers (motormen) who are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers which is not affiliated with the A. F. of L. The action referred to was in the nature of a violation of the union's contract with the company for which the charter of the local has since been revoked by the Brotherhood. We have at all times insisted that contract with employers must be kept sacred. Organized labor cannot afford to have the impression go forth that a contract made with it is worthless. Inasmuch as our movement refuses to become incorporated, its affairs must be so conducted that the employer will look upon it as a perfectly reliable institution. In revoking the charter of the motormen on the subway of New York the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has demonstrated its determination not to be known as a contract-breaking organization. In the eyes of intelligent men the brotherhood will be commended for having taken this correct stand."

The Labor Record, London

A most important service will be rendered to the English trade union

movement not only, but to all observers in other lands who wish to keep in touch with British labor affairs, if the high standard set by the initial number of the "*Labour Record*" of London is maintained. Under the editorship of Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, number one, volume one, appeared for March. Its news columns are filled with reports from the various English unions and include also a survey of the progress of the movement in other countries. A page is devoted to interesting personal paragraphs about the leaders and the labour representatives in parliament, the first installment of a serial story based upon the desperate conditions which confront the workers of Russia opens interestingly, and permanent departments will contain a review of "parliament for the month" and "the law as it affects labour." A popular account of the origin and development of the postal service, with a chronology of the important events from the establishment of a "system of posts by Edward IV. between York and Edinburgh in 1481" to the "agreement to take over the National Telephone Company's system in 1904," is one of the contributed articles. First place, however, is given to a character sketch of James Sexton, the secretary of the Dockers' Union and now running for parliament upon a labor platform.

Perhaps the most significant thing in the number is a symposium by four prominent labor men on "What Do I Consider the Most Pressing Reform of To-day." It is impressive to find that two of these pass over without mention all questions of work hours and wages and dwell upon underfed children and the necessity of feeding them as the thing that is most imperatively demanding attention. One asserts that many of the school children are not sufficiently nourished to allow of proper mental development and declares that the best investment the nation could make

would be a healthy and happy coming generation. The other characterizes the proper feeding of the school children as "the one sure foundation upon which can be built many other reforms that are so eminently necessary before we can call the British nation either civilized or Christian." The question is discussed with full regard for the objections that the accomplishment of the result would be enormously expensive, and that it would tend to lower parental responsibility. It is contended that there is practically no parental responsibility at present among those who waste their money in excessive drinking, whose children make up the greater proportion of the insufficiently fed. Much stress is laid also upon the necessity for proper feeding even among those who are perfectly capable of obtaining a sufficient quantity. The whole matter of training in domestic science in this connection comes in for its share of emphasis.

Of the other replies to the symposium, one deals with amendments to the trade union law to counteract the effect of the Taff Vale decision which placed in jeopardy the entire funds of trade unions in case of suits for damages, whether they be collected for labor defence or for benevolent purposes. The remaining statement is from Mr. Philip Snowden, Chairman of the Independent Labour Party, who urges taxation reform so that taxes will not fall so heavily upon those least able to bear them. In place of taxes upon the necessities of life he would substitute heavy taxation on the luxuries and get the revenue principally from a heavily and rapidly graduated Income Tax.

Profit and "Grab-Sharing"

"Profit-sharing, Old and New," in *Harper's* for April is reviewed in *Public Opinion* under the less euphemous but perhaps more correct title of "The New Grab-sharing."

As introductory to this "grab-sharing," Professor John Bates Clark treats for a few pages the old and purer profit-sharing and the causes for its decline.

Finding that shares of profits had been distributed most often as sops to the hunger of organized labor for higher direct wages he discovers that "the scheme of profit-sharing has been abandoned mainly because of the fact which gave it its greatest attraction in the public mind—the fact, namely, that it ran counter to the belligerent method and spirit of the time. It was intended as a peace-making measure, and it was thought that, whatever it might do, it would stop the perennial fighting between employers and employed by putting the men where they would not wish to fight, however able to do so they might be.

"If men must choose between unionism, with all that it means, and profit-sharing, they would choose the former. Laboring-men must organize and must bring pressure to bear on employers if they expect to get a fair share of the fruits of industry.—A division of the fruits of industry must be made and neither employers left to themselves nor men left to themselves will make that division on fair terms. Each of the parties in the transaction will use his best efforts to protect his interests in the division; and this means organization written large, including both workmen and employers, and putting them in an attitude of mutual opposition. The plan which the workman is forced to adopt, whether he likes it or not, is the plan of collective bargaining, and that plan, while not wholly inconsistent with profit-sharing, is in spirit hostile to it, and makes it hard to secure peace at any easy price. If we should say to a body of workmen, 'Give up your organizing and fighting, and take, in lieu of whatever you may so gain, a modest uncertain bonus above your wages,' would they be greatly moved to adopt the suggestion? Not if the abandonment of the fighting were an essential part of the plan. The right to organize would be more valued than such a prospect of dividends."

And this attitude certainly seems to justify itself as Professor Clark finds that, though an addition of ten per cent in wages constitutes a very satisfactory bonus through profit-sharing, yet the strategy of vigorous trade unions has often meant far more to their members. This is true of the shops where profit-sharing has been maintained most satisfactorily—that is in those which offer their men the prevailing rate of wages and dividends besides. For this, as Professor Clark emphasizes, "is solely because the general rate of pay is maintained by the men in the regular establishments that are working under the old system"—the men in the profit-sharing shops really relying upon union-

ism to maintain the far more important part of their incomes, wages.

But now, we are shown how out of the old system the new "profit-sharing"—grab-sharing is evolved.

The new system is the outcome of warfare, and is in harmony with the spirit of the belligerent trade union. It results, in fact, from the pressure that the strong union brings to bear on its employers to make them raise the prices of their goods, create profits, and divide them with the workmen. 'Give us more pay, and charge it to the public,' is the demand—an impossible demand in the old days, since the success of it depends on the existence of monopoly. The plan of paying and charging to the public is practicable when goods are made by corporations big enough to control the prices which they will make the public pay. Under the old regime of many shops and sharp rivalry such a demand would have been senseless; for very far was any one employer from being able to tax the public at will. Not quite at will, certainly, can the monopoly of the present day tax the public, but within certain limits it can and does do this, and the aim of the trade union is to make it divide gains on the best terms that the union can get.

Nowhere is the policy colored by philanthropy or relieved by the prospect of merging and harmonizing the opposing interests. Indeed, it affords one new motive for adopting that very warlike measure, the strike, for this sometimes brings gains to the business. It makes the product scarcer and dearer—witness the price of coal before the great strike and after it. In the days of competition paralyzing a man's business might ruin him, but in the days of monopoly doing this for a time means reducing the whole stock of some kind of goods, raising the price of it, and enabling a consolidated company to put a new charge on its customers. In a way the system makes allies of employers and workmen, for it unites them in a common effort to get something out of consumers' pockets. It favors the effort both parties are making to reduce competition, since it requires employers to keep off rivals for the sake of taxing the public, and it requires the workmen to exclude 'scabs,' and thus gather to themselves a large share of the proceeds of the tax. Organization, force, and mutual contention are to be seen everywhere, and the outcome of it is a dividing of spoils. It is grab-sharing, in which the amount of the booty is determined by the strength of the monopoly and the terms of the division by the power and adroitness of the contending parties, laborers, and employers within the establishment."

Just what hope there is for the future it is difficult to discover. The problem of dealing with this new grab-sharing is so closely interwoven with other economic problems that it is only possible to indicate

a line of treatment that may lead to a way out, rather than any actual remedy applicable immediately. "Is this the end?" concludes Prof. Clark. "Can evolution carry us no farther and give us nothing better? That depends on our success in dealing with the general problem of monopoly."

College Education and Wage Earner's Children

President William J. Tucker in the *Massachusetts Labor Bulletin* for last September quoted Alfred Marshall, the English economist as follows: "Since the manual labor classes are four or five times as numerous as all other classes put together, it is not unlikely that more than half of the best natural genius that is born into the country belongs to them." And "there is no extravagance more prejudicial to the growth of the national wealth than that wasteful negligence which allows genius which happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend itself in lowly work." In the course of the same article, which was upon "Labor and Education" President Tucker noted the fact that in Dartmouth College the per cent of students from wage earning parents equaled that from the farms. He added, "The home of the wage earner is becoming a recruiting ground for the higher education, which no college can afford to overlook."

The March number of the *Massachusetts Bulletin*, just issued, contains the results of an investigation prompted by the article of President Tucker. Information was gathered from the colleges and universities of the state and concerned 10,819 students.

Of this number 41.66 per cent were the sons or daughters of business men; 19.36 per cent stated that their fathers were clergymen, physicians, or other professional men; 2.71 per cent were the sons or daughters of government officials; 6.84 per cent reported their fathers as farmers; the fathers of 8.84 per cent were either deceased or retired; 3.92 per cent did not state definitely; and 16.67 per cent were the sons or daughters of wage earners. In the colleges for men and coeducational colleges of liberal arts, the children of wage earners numbered 13.19 per cent of all students in this grade; in colleges for women they numbered 5.81 per cent of the total number; in the schools of technology,

they numbered 11.23 per cent; and in the normal and training schools they numbered 45.48 per cent.

Some of the detailed figures for individual colleges were as follows: Harvard, so often called the rich man's college, enrolls over 10 per cent from those whose fathers are wage earners. Radcliffe has a percentage about the same; Williams has only 6.68 per cent whose fathers are wage earners; and Laselle Seminary for girls but 1.33 per cent. Smith College has 4.52 per cent; Clark University reports 27.86 per cent; and Boston College has 35.45 per cent. The greatest percentages are found among the Training and Normal Schools, while the schools located in the midst of the busiest industrial communities also exhibit large proportions in this regard.

Socialist Gains in Wisconsin

The energetic organization of the Social Democratic Party in Wisconsin is gloating over the election of a Socialist mayor at Manitowoc, three aldermen and three supervisors at Racine as well as substantial gains for the party ticket in many other parts of the state.

Throughout the small industrial centers in Wisconsin as well as in the larger cities, as mentioned by Mr. Thompson in the last number of *THE COMMONS*, the number of workers who are being turned to Socialism is by no means small.

The returns from Racine especially have been not only pleasing to the Socialists but also interesting—if not gratifying—to observers far less radical. That the extreme methods of Mr. David M. Parry and his "Citizens Industrial Alliance" only discouraged a union man enough to make him a Socialist, we and others more than once have had occasion to remark. The Socialists, in their usual breezy way, state the net results of Mr. Parry's effort thus:

Racine is a classical city of modern industrialism. It is the home of some very well known large industrial works, the J. I. Case Plow works, the Horlick baby food company, the International Harvester company, the Mitchell & Lewis wagon works, many iron foundries, trunk factories, machine shops and the like running up and down the scale of manufacture and even including Dr. Shoop's dope factory. Parry hit upon Racine as a typical modern factory city just suited to make a try of his Industrial Alliance scheme. The plan has not been

a howling success. The workers did not rush to join the alliance, although an Indiana preacher was brought there to beguile them into it. Instead they had sense enough to see that their interests required that they stand shoulder to shoulder like brothers, politically, industrially and any other old way. They have been persecuted by blacklists, lawsuits and like torments, but they have stood unshaken—and now they have dealt the enemy the hardest blow that could be struck and three aldermen and three supervisors go into the local councils to represent the workers' interests and the workers' party stands second in the voting. Political power on the part of the working class has a particular terror for the capitalists. It's a power they cannot meet with court injunctions and gatting guns. They well know the strength politically of the workers, if the workers get in the habit of using it! And they will resort to anything to dissuade the workers from making use of that collective power.

Co-operative Mining

It is extremely interesting to read the following report of United States Consul Frank W. Mahin, on co-operative mining in Great Britain together with the announcement of a departure into co-operative mining at Salem, Ohio. From the Consul's report we find that:

Mining and industrial circles generally in Great Britain are intently watching a co-operative experiment which is being tried in slate quarrying in the neighborhood of Lord Penrhyn's famous quarries in Wales. So universal is the interest in this undertaking that the necessary working capital has been provided by the labor organizations of the entire country. They have already subscribed \$126,529, which sum it is expected will soon be increased.

The importance of this experiment appears in the question asked: If co-operative slate quarrying can be made a commercial success, why not have co-operative coal mines, cotton mills, iron and steel foundries, woolen factories—in brief, co-operation in every industry employing a large number of hands?

Leaders of the movement profess to see in its success the "emancipation of labor from the bondage of capital." The glowing accounts of the undertaking's present success and future possibilities, brought by trade-union delegates who have visited the quarries, have given rise to visions of untold wealth in this new departure. One result is that prospectors thronged the mountains of North Wales during the past summer, and owners of small quarries were approached with offers of purchase, this with a view to forming additional companies on the basis of the original one.

The ardor of enthusiasts, however, was

cooled by the showing of a debit balance in the report of the first year's working of the undertaking, but confidence was restored by the explanation that the deficit was due to legitimate expenses of development of mines, and that it would be more than made up in the future, when the richer veins (confidentially believed to exist) should be reached.

One who is referred to as "one of the greatest mining experts in the Kingdom" is quoted as criticizing reports made at the shareholders' meeting as showing crudeness and inaccuracy of knowledge on the subject considered, but, at the same time, approving the theory pursued in the work of quarrying, and expressing the belief that with sufficient capital and scientific methods it is possible to make the undertaking a commercial success. This, while not calculated to excite great enthusiasm, is regarded as encouraging as an unbiased opinion from an expert not connected with the undertaking.

And now *Fuel*, a weekly published in the interests of the mining operators calls to our attention that:

An entirely new method of operation for the McNab coal shaft, just east of Salem, O., now owned and operated by the Salem Fuel Co., is announced. The company has practically sold out the mine, equipment, etc., to a party of Youngstown miners, who expect to take over the mine and operate it themselves on the co-operative plan.

The men interested in the new ownership are all practical miners, who will take over the property, make some changes in the system of mining coal along lines which the Salem Fuel Co. has lately been endeavoring to carry out, and do the work themselves on the co-operative plan, each worker being a shareholder in the company. Mr. Biddison retains a good interest in the mine, and will locate at Salem, looking after the business end of the mine and overseeing the work at the North Lima coal fields, in which he also has an interest. It is not unlikely that he will be made manager of the new enterprise.

It is the expectation that some of the local miners who may desire to become members of the company will be taken in on the same terms as the Youngstown organizers of the company, though the membership will be limited. A number of the miners now employed there have signified their desire to become shareholders in the new company.

The New Carnegie Pensions

Mr. Carnegie, of the famous library proclivities, again breaks the monotony of doling out free reading rooms to our towns and villages, with a benefaction, not as original as his "hero fund" but certainly promising the most excellent and far reaching results.

In spite of the advances in the cost of living, with which salaries of business men and the wages of the laborers kept pace—or at worst lagged not far behind—the pay of college professors and teachers in the higher technical schools has remained practically constant. Not overpaid some years ago, the remuneration given to our laborers in the field of knowledge is now often ridiculously inadequate. So except for those who are willing to attach themselves to the higher institutions for the sake of reputation or satisfied to get along with a fairly comfortable income, so that they may be free to pursue their investigations and keep up their scholarly work, few men of ability are tempted to the chairs of "high learning," perhaps, but of low pay. Yet even those few can not be free from the dread of the time when, with usefulness impaired, they must retire to an old age full of anxiety if not actual want. To remove this curse of worry and thereby add to the usefulness of professors, Mr. Carnegie's \$10,000,000 just provided for pensioning retiring professors and teachers will arouse an enthusiasm in the great teaching corps of the universities and higher schools the value of which will be more apparent in the future than now.

It is said that Mr. Carnegie denies he ever said it was a disgrace for a man to die rich; but it is hard to reconcile that reported denial with Mr. Carnegie's record so far this year. Already he has given about \$15,000,000: to thirty colleges, about \$2,000,000; thirteen library buildings, about \$400,000; for various municipal improvements, \$400,000; for a technical school to be established in Boston under the provisions of the Franklin fund, \$400,000; one million dollars for pensioning superannuated Methodist preachers; and ten million dollars for pensioning retiring professors and teachers.

Stock to Employees

The *Union Labor Advocate* gives the following interesting account of the stock distribution plan of Mr. Hamil-

ton Carhartt, of Detroit, whereby he makes his employes partners with him and sharers in the direct profits of his large clothing manufacturing business:

Hamilton Carhartt, manufacturer of clothing, has taken a notable step in carrying out his idea that his employes work not only for him, but with him—that they are partners in his business, not drudge and driver. This time his co-operative plan takes in anyone who works in his shop, anyone who sells his goods, or anyone who wears the overalls and jumpers his 800 employes make to the extent of a million dollars' worth a year. That a man who distributes yearly in Detroit a quarter of a million dollars in wages should seek to distribute more is of itself an interesting fact.

Mr. Carhartt's plan briefly is this: The business being now at the zenith of its prosperity and incorporated, he thinks a stock company would give it an assurance of continuance at its present high average by increasing the circle of those directly

interested. It is proof of Mr. Carhartt's belief in his plan that his very first step was to give free of cost to those of his employes who have rendered faithful service for a certain time thousands of dollars' worth of non-assessable paidup preferred stock in the now incorporated company. Regarding this Mr. Carhartt says in a letter to his agents:

"Kindly understand that I do not wish to pose as a philanthropist, as I am simply carrying out a long cherished idea, viz.: to make those who have helped me to build up this tremendous business partners in it and sharers in its profits."

The amounts of stock given the employes were graded from \$500 down, according to the service rendered.

An annual dividend of 7 per cent is guaranteed, and it is figured that the increased interest in the business by the stockholders will more than offset the high dividend. A 30-day option is allowed prospective investors while they investigate the business. A handsome prospectus has been issued giving the fullest information.

From Social Settlement Centers

A new edition of the "Bibliography of Settlements" is being prepared. Names and addresses of new settlements, new material of old, and suggestions for the improvement of the next edition over the old will be gratefully received by the editor, Mrs. Frank Hugh Montgomery, 5548 Woodland avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Neighborhood House, Washington, D. C.

Neighborhood House has stood for the idea that a social settlement is primarily a private residence, the home of a family who aspire to make their house a useful social center. Around Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. Weller, who make their home at the settlement, are gathered a few other permanent residents and volunteer helpers, both from within and from outside the immediate neighborhood. Most of the regular settlement appointments are held in the residence, but the "Neighborhood Club" occupies the premises next door. This club numbers some seventy members among the neighborhood men and boys over the age of sixteen. The dues are fifty cents a month for all above twenty-one years old and ten cents a week for those younger. The club rooms, in a vacant corner store, rendered attractive with bright wall paper, pictures, games and magazines, are open between six and ten o'clock every evening. A well appreciated feature of the club is the lunch room in the rear, where a cup of coffee may be had for three cents, a ham sandwich for a similar sum, and for an occasional investment some especial dainties. Thursday evening is the regular "club

night," when business is transacted and some form of entertainment is afforded, usually including an address from some prominent man.

The younger boys have a large room above the Neighborhood Club room, in which they conduct a sort of smaller counterpart of the organization below.

The backyard of Neighborhood House was the first public playground to be opened in Washington. The second summer saw the reservation of this small space entirely for the girls and younger children, while the boys could find exercise and amusement in a large, new playground opened through the efforts of Neighborhood House, and afterward taken in charge by the "Public Playgrounds Committee," in the old district "pipe yard," two blocks from the settlement.

Robert Browning Settlement

The report of the tenth year's work has just been issued and may be of interest to some of those who read the article on the settlement by the Warden, Mr. F. Herbert Stead, which appeared in THE COMMONS for April. The account of the work in the report includes not only the regular settlement activities, but also the more far-reaching influence of the residents in such matters as

the problem of the unemployed and affairs of general civic and educational concern. Several members of the settlement household have been appointed by the London County Council to be managers of neighboring schools. The booklet may be had upon payment of the price, 4 d., and 1 d. for postage, and to secure it we advise addressing the Warden, F. Herbert Stead, 29 Grosvenor Park, S. E., London.

Chicago Commons

Preparations are now completed for our usual May Festival, which this year will celebrate the completion of the eleventh year of the settlement. Friday and Saturday, the 12th and 13th of May, have been set aside for the various occasions. But the first event that will chronicle the close of the winter's work will be the graduation exercises of the Cooking School on Tuesday evening the 9th. Friday morning from 9 to 11 the Kindergarten will hold a May Party. Friday evening will be devoted to a general program, including selections by the Mandolin club, a maypole dance by some of the younger club children, gymnastic exercises and drills by the classes which have worked steadily all through the winter in the gymnasium, and other things that will show forth the many activities of the various organizations. A luncheon for the non-resident workers will be held at 1 o'clock on Saturday. And on Saturday evening the children who have been taking music lessons during the winter will give a musical. Meanwhile during both days, Friday and Saturday, there will be on exhibition some of the results of the industrial classes. This has proved each year to be one of the most interesting of all the things that occupy May Festival week. Exhibits from the Cooking School, Manual Training, Sewing, Embroidery and Art classes will share the space with samples of the work of the children in the kindergarten, of rugs by the women who have made use of the looms, and of the handwork of the industrial classes in the neighboring public schools. The latter feature has been exceptionally interesting in the exhibits of previous May Festivals, and this year the Monte-fiori and Washington schools will again contribute specimens of their winter's activity in manual training, pottery, printing and book-binding, sewing and other lines.

Visits to the recently established Municipal Museum have proved interesting and instructive to several groups that have gone down from the settlement. Through the courtesy of Mr. Charles B. Ball of the Museum a special arrangement was made by which the rooms were opened on two evenings for the exclusive use of these groups. On the occasion of the first, nearly 100 children from the boys' and girls' clubs listened with marked interest to explanations of how our cities are administered. They found the

pictures, maps and models of great help in obtaining an idea of the way in which city government and municipal improvement affect each citizen. Members of the Woman's club and the Seventeenth Ward Community club were the privileged ones on the second evening. All felt under very great obligations to Mr. Ball for the pains he took to make the visits inspiring, instructive and suggestive of how study and observation along municipal lines may be taken up by everyone who is awakened to the very great importance of these subjects for the general welfare.

Neighborhood House, [North Summit, N. J.

The value of the settlement idea to a small community is being increasingly demonstrated by the North Summit Neighborhood House. For three years the work was carried on in the front and back parlor of a private house, but last fall a new building, especially adapted to the increasing needs was opened. The past few months have therefore been characterized by a more rapid development of the work than formerly possible.

The first floor is well planned for the Sunday and weekday work, with a convenient hall, to the right of which is an especially attractive library, and club-room, and to the left a useful and pretty club, class and reception room, both of which open by wide folding doors into the main audience room at the rear, which is 27x32 feet in dimensions, with a platform, a high arched roof and windows on three sides. Here are held the kindergarten, every school morning, clubs and classes, afternoons and evenings, and Sunday school, Sunday evening service for adults, lectures, concerts, and other social entertainments, throughout the week. It serves for a gymnasium, as well, and special emphasis is laid on gymnastic exercise in all the clubs.

The second and third floors contain eight well planned living rooms for the accommodation of the resident household, consisting of the head-worker, Miss G. E. Paine; the assistant, Miss Sara Voorhees, the kindergartner, Miss May Gardner, and an additional worker who is in residence two nights a week, Mrs. Ina R. Marvin, of Chatham.

Upwards of 40 non-resident workers are also participating in the week's schedule of appointments.

In addition to the regular daily kindergarten, there are numerous boys' and girls' clubs, a young women's club, kitchen garden class, penny provident bank, and night classes in English for foreign adults. Sunday religious services are held, a Sunday school in the afternoon and regular meeting in the evening, the program of which is somewhat varied, quite frequently by the use of the stereopticon. Special occasions add to the general interest. Among these have been

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neighborhood informal receptions with good musical attractions, lectures, and concerts.

A Syrian colony of considerable numbers has settled near the settlement and a meeting arranged for them and conducted in the Arabic tongue by a former teacher at Beirut brought out an attendance of 70.

New features to be undertaken in the near future are a course in housekeeping for young girls from 10 to 16 years, beginning March 11; an evening cooking class for young women, and a reading room and circulating library, which is one of our most crying needs; and for which money and books are needed immediately.

Mansfield House, London

Mansfield House is participating in the canvass for the election to the vacancies on the West Ham Board of Guardians. The influence of the House is being exerted especially to secure the election of Sister Kerrison who has already served for eight years, and whose long and loyal service should count in bringing about a favorable result. She has most intimate knowledge of the district and her sympathies with the poor are deep. Her experience as Matron of the Seamen's Hospital has been of distinct benefit to her as Guardian, especially when the important matter of providing trained nurses to tend the inmates of the Infirmary had to be decided. She has been outspoken in her support of causes identified with the trade union movement, and partly through her influence the West Ham Board is pledged to the payment of the trade union rate of wages. Her voice has also been raised in protest against the regulation which deprives men of their votes because they have come to the Guardians for relief, for she feels that this works an injury, especially on those who have had the misfortune to be out of employment during the hard times of the past winter.

The visitors of the month include two young men from Oxford, who have put in their vacations at Mansfield House. They have thrown themselves with great zest into the work of the settlement, and have been doing a good deal of canvassing in the interests of Sister Kerrison.

Books Received

(To be Reviewed Later)

The Unemployed: A National Question

By Percy Alden, late Warden of Mansfield House, East London; Member of the Mansion House Unemployed Committee; Hon. Sec. Guildhall Conference, 1903. With a preface by Sir John Gorst, M. P. 199 pp. P. S. King & Son, London.

The Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut

By Edward Warren Capen, Ph. D., Alumni Lecturer at Hartford Theological Seminary. Volume XXII of the Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by the

Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. 520 pp. \$3.00. The Columbia University Press, The MacMillan Company, Agents, New York.

The Higher Life of Chicago

By Thomas James Riley, Ph. D. 136 pp. 75 cents net. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

The Burden of the City

By Isabelle Horton. 222 pp. 50 cents net. The Fleming H. Revell Company, Chicago.

Street and Electric Railways

Special report of the U. S. Government Census Office, Department of Commerce and Labor.

The Recording Angel

By Edwin Arnold Breholtz. A novel. 287 pp. \$1.00. Charles H. Kerr and Company, Chicago.

Social Progress, 1905

Josiah Strong, Editor. 349 pp. \$1.00 net. The Baker and Taylor Company, New York.

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Echoes From Sleepy Hollow,	Minna Irving
The Land of the Redheads,	Henry Russell Wright
In Barren Franklin's Town,	The Land of the Redheads
Back of the Backwoods,	Charles Howard Shinn
A Feast of Music,	Jane W. Guthrie
At the Zoo,	John R. Green
Since Betty Golfs—Poem,	Josephine Willcock Ward
Niagara's Historic Environs,	Eben P. Dorr
The Old Wood-Burned Days,	James O. Whitemore
The Land of the Golden Legends,	Guy M. Johnson
Nature's Treasure-house,	Earl W. Mayo
Down the Golden Yukon,	George Hyde Preston
Little Histories,	Annie J. Reynolds
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The Treason House,	William Watt

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Child-labor It is now possible to review with some exactness the progress during 1904 in *Advance in 1904.* the the field of child labor and compulsory education. The advances were not inconsiderable. Statutes were enacted by Massachusetts, Kentucky, New Jersey and Vermont.

Massachusetts extended to the month of December the restriction of the hours of labor of women and children, which formerly applied only to stores during eleven months of the year. It will henceforth be illegal to employ any woman or minor under eighteen years of age longer than ten hours in one day or fifty-eight hours in one week at any time during the year in any store, as it has long been illegal in any factory.

New Jersey extended to boys under fourteen years of age the prohibition which previously applied only to girls. Neither boys nor girls can now be legally employed in manufacture in New Jersey before the fourteenth birthday. Unfortunately, the legislature repealed the statute which had for ten years, since 1892, prohibited the employment at night of children under sixteen years of age in all manufactures except glassworks, canneries and establishments for preserving perishable fruits. Children fourteen years of age may, therefore, be legally employed throughout the night in factories in New Jersey.

Kentucky extended to the entire school year, not less than five months, the term of compulsory attendance at school for children under fourteen years of age.

Vermont enacted a new law, embodying some of the best features of the laws of Illinois and Massachusetts. This is the first eastern state to adopt the Illinois restriction upon the hours of labor of children under sixteen, not more than eight hours in one day, nor more than forty-eight hours in one week nor after 7 P. M., nor before 7 A. M. The requirements of Massachusetts regarding the age and schooling certificate have been approximately followed, with the addition of the passport for verification of age. The age limit has been raised only to twelve years, but no child under fifteen may be employed while the public schools are in session.

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